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A Doctor's Benefaction: The Berg Collection at The New York Public Library*

By JOHN D. GORDAN

NEW York City has been unusually fortunate in the number of rare books and important manuscripts which generous citizens have given to the public. Few institutions have been more handsomely treated over the years than The New York Public Library. Since the library of James Lenox became part of the original incorporation, the Library has received no gifts of books and manuscripts richer than those of Dr. Albert Ashton Berg. It was during Harry Miller Lydenberg's time as Director that Dr. Berg made his three great benefactions. If it had not been for H. M. L., for his enthusiasm and for his diplomacy, the Library might not today house the Henry W. and Albert A. Berg Collection in Memory of Henry W. Berg.

Though the Collection reflects the interests of two medical men, it was not medical material that attracted Dr. Henry W. and Dr. A. A. Berg. Their interest was in English and American literature. During his lifetime Dr. A. A. gave approximately

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40,000 items to the Library. Half of these, roughly, were printed material, and half manuscript. The printed items, be they broadside, pamphlet in soft covers or book in hard, are generally first editions. Occasionally there will be a later printing with significant changes of text. Among the printed material should be included various kinds of proof sheets; much of this proof is corrected in longhand. There are no manuscripts of the period before printing. The manuscript material comprises authors' manuscripts and letters, as well as authors' typescripts, generally corrected by hand, and typewritten letters.

The Berg Collection is essentially an author collection. It is not a collection devoted to a subject, like drama or poetry or the novel, or to a type, like incunabula or broadsides. It has been built up by collectors who were interested in the great figures of English and American literature and in many of lesser rank. These collectors gathered together as much printed and manuscript material by each writer as opportunity, their interest and their pocketbooks allowed—and there have been some deep pocketbooks connected with the formation of the Berg Collection.

The formation of the Collection makes a dramatic story. In the first fifteen months of its life as part of The New York Public Library, it grew from about three thousand to some thirty thousand items. This was an increase not only in quantity, but in quality. No such staggering rate of growth could have been achieved without massive additions, and the Berg Collection grew, as have almost all the great libraries of the world, by the acquisition of other entire collections as well as of single pieces. Dr. Berg added two famous collections to his original gift of his own. We at the Library have a keen interest in the development of these two collections when they were in private hands, and in the collectors whose tastes shaped this development. Our chief interest is, naturally, in Dr. Berg, as the benefactor responsible

for the final deposit at Fifth Avenue and Forty-Second Street of all this material.

The first gift which Dr. A. A. made to the Library was the 3,000 or so items which he and his brother Dr. Henry W. had assembled over three decades. The brothers had been wide readers in English and American literature. As boys they had worked in the library of Cooper Union, where they had plenty of time for browsing. There was a family tradition that Henry had recited the closing lines of "Thanatopsis" to Bryant when the poet visited the institute one day. Another tradition was that Albert had developed a taste for Dickens at the age of five or six. Ultimately this fondness led him into collecting first editions, as distinguished from a reading library. In all likelihood it was their early reading which turned two doctors—the elder a specialist in the treatment of smallpox and diphtheria, the younger a world authority on the treatment of cancer and ulcers of the stomach and of cancer of the gastrointestinal tract—away from a "shop collection" of medical books to a collection of literary material.

Dr. A. A. began the collecting. His first purchase of a rare book was of a Dickens novel in parts; just which novel, unhappily, he could never remember. This was around 1910, and since the brothers shared their interests, Dr. Henry W. was soon an enthusiast. As a curb on their enthusiasm, they set themselves a limit of $100 an item. The curb did not hold for long, or the collection which they had built up by the time of Doctor Henry W.'s death in December, 1938, would not have been so good as it was.

A year or so before the elder Doctor's death, the brothers approached The New York Public Library to discuss presenting their collection to the Library. They stipulated that they wanted a separate room for their books and would provide a fund for its upkeep. This generous offer put the Board of Trustees in a quan-

dary, because space is almost the most precious thing in a great library today. The Board's acceptance of the Berg Collection turned out, however, to be one of its wisest decisions. It took some time to work out details to the satisfaction of the Doctors, and before final arrangements were made Dr. Henry W. died. Dr. A. A. desired to carry through the gift as a memorial to his brother. In 1939 the remaining details were settled, and on February 6, 1940, the Doctor made a formal offer which the Trustees accepted on February 14.

Once the memorial to Dr. Henry W. had been established and their private collection turned over to the public, Dr. A. A. found his desire to build up the Collection strengthened. Quite possibly, since he would now be buying material for an institution instead of for his own library, his dislike of self-indulgence was no longer a deterrent to large expenditure. His native shrewdness, furthermore, prompted him to take advantage of opportunities to purchase two great collections *en bloc*. Though the amounts paid were too large for the purchases to be classed as bargains, they were small in comparison with the sums that had been put into building up these same collections in a time of mounting prices.

The first opportunity came after the death of William Thomas Hildrup Howe of Cincinnati. A New Englander by birth and a graduate of Yale, Mr. Howe had been for many years President of the American Book Company. He, too, was a bachelor, and for some forty years he had pursued the hobby of collecting—old American glass as well as books and manuscripts—with even more ardor than the Doctors. His interest was also in English and American literature, particularly of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Some of the authors whom he collected, like John Galsworthy and James Stephens, had been his friends, had visited him and had written to him frequently. Most of Howe's library was in Kentucky, at "Freelands," the house

which he named after Galsworthy's novel and which appears on his bookplate. In its particular field the Howe collection was known to be one of the richest in private hands, and after Mr. Howe died intestate in August, 1939, several institutions began angling for it.

Dr. Berg's attention was first directed to the collection in August, 1940, by one of the most interesting personalities in the rare book world, the late Mitchell Kennerley. As his success with the Anderson Galleries indicated, Kennerley was a showman of charm and persuasion. He was acting for a well-known Chicago dealer, Walter M. Hill, who represented the Howe estate. The man who really heated to incandescence Dr. Berg's desire to have the Howe collection was Robert M. Lingel, then Chief of the Library's Acquisition Division. Lingel was a master salesman, and he knew how to reconcile interests that were apparently in hopeless conflict: the seller, the buyer, the agent—even two agents! Kennerley and Lingel are both now dead, and it is genuinely distressing to remember that their latter days were not happy. The Berg Collection would not be the outstanding collection that it is today had it not been for these two men.

Negotiations were carried on, at whirlwind speed for such a sizable transaction, during late August and early September, 1940. Lingel and Kennerley made a flying trip to Chicago and Cincinnati; Lingel flew back to Cincinnati for a few hours to obtain an option; and on September 12 the sale was clinched in Philadelphia, where the attorney for the estate happened to be at the moment. The sixteen thousand or so books and manuscripts which made up the Howe collection arrived at The New York Public Library on September 24 to be checked off by library officials, by Miss Edith Tranter (the executor of Mr. Howe's estate), by Walter Hill, and by Mitchell Kennerley. On November 13, the Howe library became officially a part of the Berg Collection.

A few months later, Kennerley came to Dr. Berg with another project. Mr. Owen D. Young, the retired head of the General Electric Company, was anxious to dispose of the collection of more than 10,000 English and American literary first editions and manuscripts which he had been building up for thirty years. This hobby Mr. Young had been able to pursue despite the fact that, unlike the other collectors about whom we have been talking, he was not a bachelor. Born in Van Hornesville, New York, in 1874, the same year as W. T. H. Howe, he has been twice married. It is a pleasure to be able to say that—again unlike so many of the other figures in this story—he is still hale and hearty. It was in order to provide for benefactions of his own in the neighborhood of Van Hornesville that he decided to sell his library. Apparently he had thought of offering several institutions an opportunity to make purchases and had even placed some items with a well-known rare book firm in New York. He had retained Mitchell Kennerley as appraiser and, presumably, as agent.

Once again it was Robert Lingel who fired Dr. Berg with the desire to add the Young collection to his other gifts to the Library. The situation also called for the miraculous ability of the Chief of the Acquisition Division to reconcile apparent irreconcilables. By refusing to take "No" for an answer, by traveling back and forth between New York and Florida, Lingel brought about an acceptable arrangement. Dr. Berg purchased an undivided half-interest in the Young collection for the Library, and Mr. Young presented the remainder. The whole was to become a part of the Berg Collection. This magnificent joint gift was announced on the front pages of the New York papers on May 5, 1941. Thus the tenfold growth of the Berg Collection came about within fifteen months of the Doctor's original gift.

By the spring of 1941, the Berg Collection had reached the same general proportions that it will have for many years to

come, even though it steadily increases in size. In range, it extends from the end of the fifteenth century to the early twentieth. Practically, this means that it has a handful of English incunables, and that the most recent of its authors had attained some reputation by the time of the First World War. The strength of the Collection varies greatly over the range of four or more centuries. It is hardly surprising that it contains no material of the Anglo-Saxon period. It is scarcely more surprising that there is no medieval material, except two chronicles printed by Caxton and one by Wynkyn de Worde. There is little of the early Renaissance, but that little is choice. It has, among other first printings, a perfect copy of John Foxe's *Actes and Monuments,* or *Book of Martyrs;* the sixth edition of *Songes and Sonnets,* better known as *Tottel's Miscellany;* a perfect copy of the first English comedy, *Gammer Gurton's Needle;* two titles by John Shelton, and two by John Heywood.

It is only with the late Elizabethan period that the Collection begins to achieve any wide coverage, any density. Over the next two hundred years of English literature it gradually increases in strength until by the eighteenth century it can be said to have excellent but not exhaustive runs of books by the important authors. For the period up to 1641 covered by *A Short-Title Catalogue,* there are in the Berg Collection only 319 titles, some of which are present in more than one copy. It should be borne in mind that these are works of literature, not the religious or governmental publications that so enormously swell the number of entries in STC. There are, for instance, half a dozen Edmund Spensers, including several variants of *The Faerie Queene,* two copies of *Colin Clout,* and two of the *Complaints,* as well as *Fowre Hymnes* and *Prothalamion.* Sidney is represented by *An Apologie for Poetrie* and *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia,* perfect except for a missing blank leaf. There are half a dozen Ben Jonson firsts in addition to the *Workes,* and a dozen and a half of George

Chapman's, with all his translations of Homer. Other Stuart dramatists—Beaumont and Fletcher, Dekker, John Ford, Heywood, Middleton, Shirley, Webster—are well represented. The Collection, however, has only one manuscript of the period before 1641, but an important one: John Donne's poems dating from 1619, formerly in the possession of the Earls of Westmorland.

No attempt has yet been made to check off Berg holdings in Donald Wing's helpful extension of the Pollard and Redgrave *Short-Title Catalogue*. The Collection has reasonably good resources for the major figure of the mid-century, John Milton—twenty-seven titles, including "Lycidas," "Comus," and all six title-pages of the first printings of *Paradise Lost*. The Cavalier poets, the metaphysical poets, the great prose writers like Browne and Burton and Walton are well accounted for, the first four editions of *The Compleat Angler* being present. Dryden, the great figure of the latter half of the seventeenth century, is represented by thirty-five titles. There is only a weak collection of late seventeenth-century dramatists, though there are four original letters of William Congreve's, whose letters are notably scarce. There are few other autograph letters by seventeenth-century figures.

The strength of the Berg Collection is greater in the eighteenth than in the seventeenth century, and it waxes with the century. There are fair to good collections of the important figures of the earlier half—Defoe, Swift, Addison, Steele, Edward Young, Gay, Pope, Richardson, Fielding, William Collins, Thomas Gray; and of the latter half—Dr. Johnson, Sterne, Smollett, Goldsmith, Cowper, Sheridan, Crabbe, Burns, Blake, Jane Austen, and lesser figures. In the eighteenth century the Collection increases in interest for the manuscript material and autograph letters it contains. Of the twenty-one writers just mentioned, all but three (Collins, Fielding and Gay) are at

least represented by autograph letters, and all but Addison, Defoe, Blake and Young by manuscript material as well as by letters. The most important of the manuscript material is a rough draft of the first three books of Pope's *Essay on Man.* Two of the collections of letters are sizable; there are fifty by Thomas Gray, and fifty-three by Dr. Johnson. These holdings, however, are small indeed by comparison with the Burney papers belonging to the latter half of the century. In the Collection are the manuscripts of Fanny Burney's *Evelina, Cecilia, Camilla,* and of her *Diary and Letters* as prepared for the press. There are manuscripts of seventeen additional diaries, nine unpublished plays, and twenty notebooks. In addition, Berg has 900 autograph letters of Fanny Burney's as well as several hundred of other members of the Burney family.

It must be remembered that the material in the Berg Collection from 1500 to 1800 has come almost entirely from the joining together of what Mr. Young and the Doctors had collected, and that these collectors had large nineteenth-century holdings as well. Considerably less than half the thirty thousand items of the combined Berg, Howe and Young collections are reflected in these three centuries. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that its nineteenth-century material, English and American, is Berg's strength and its treasure. The collections of books by the principal authors of the century are gratifyingly close to completion, even including two of such rarities as the Bristol edition of Wordsworth and Coleridge's *Lyrical Ballads,* Browning's *Pauline,* Bryant's *Embargo,* and Poe's *Tamerlane,* to mention only the more spectacular.

It is the manuscript material that makes the Collection particularly interesting to scholars of this period. It is tempting to adduce a host of examples, but a half dozen or so must represent the rest. Take, for instance, the Coleridge material: there are thirty manuscripts, three notebooks, and over one hundred au-

tograph letters. There are some 300 Thackeray autograph letters and 500 Dickens autograph letters, as well as minor manuscripts by both men. The turn of the century is well exemplified by Kipling, of whom we have two dozen manuscripts (including a manuscript of *Departmental Ditties*), 125 drawings, and over one hundred letters. In American literature Berg contains interesting Hawthorne material: some dozen minor manuscripts, an Italian diary and notebook, and 220 letters. This is backed up by a massive collection of a dozen or so diaries and several hundred letters of Sophia Hawthorne's and her sisters'. There are better than 1,700 pages of Thoreau's nature studies, and fifty of his letters. Whitman is represented by twenty manuscripts and 385 autograph letters. Clemens, at the turn of the century, can be studied in fifty manuscripts, including *A Connecticut Yankee*, *Following the Equator*, and *Tom Sawyer Abroad*, and 400 autograph letters.

The Berg Collection is unusually rich in association volumes among its nineteenth-century holdings. There are, for instance, five presentation copies of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimack Rivers*—those given by Thoreau to William Cullen Bryant, Ellery Channing, Ralph Waldo Emerson, James Anthony Froude, and Nathaniel Hawthorne. On the more sentimental side, Berg has some fascinating dedication copies. It has, for example, the copy of *The Raven and Other Poems* (New York, 1845) sent by Poe to Elizabeth Barrett, later Mrs. Robert Browning, and the letter she wrote thanking Poe for the dedication and the book. It has the copy of *Vanity Fair* given by Thackeray to Bryan Waller Procter, who wrote poetry under the name of Barry Cornwall, and the copy of *The History of Pendennis* given Dr. John Elliotson, the physician who pulled Thackeray through a desperate illness. For sentimental interest few books can surpass the copy of *Alice's Adventures in Wonderland* which Dodgson gave Alice Pleasance Liddell, or the copy of *A Child's Garden of Verses* which

Stevenson sent Alison Cunningham. Both are in the Berg Collection.

There is one aspect of the Collection which makes it of unusual usefulness, especially to bibliographers. It so often contains two or more copies of the first edition of a title. This situation has come about from the merging of three private libraries. It has already been pointed out that even in the period prior to 1800, where repetition would occur only between the smaller Berg and Young libraries, there is often more than one copy of a book. In the nineteenth century, when the Howe library, larger than both the others put together, enters the picture, the duplication of title becomes heavy. Mr. Howe, furthermore, understood the value of comparing copies of a title, and he often deliberately bought more than one copy.

The value of such multiplicity to the scholar, of course, lies in the variants, states and issues of the text and binding of a first edition which can be brought to light by comparison. Berg has, for example, four copies of the Aylott and Jones, 1846, edition of the Brontës' *Poems*, and among these are three variant bindings. In the investigations carried on by Mr. Jacob Blanck for the forthcoming *Bibliography of American Literature*, under the auspices of this Society, it was a considerable advantage to find in the Berg Collection, for instance, nine copies of *The Scarlet Letter* and eleven copies of *The House of the Seven Gables*. When a careful bibliography on Dickens is made, it will be useful to have in the Collection seven copies of *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* in parts.

In closing, I should like to say something about the probable future growth of the Collection. The direction of this growth was taken, with the Doctor's approval, in the dozen years between the gift of Mr. Young's library and the present, during which roughly 10,000 items have been added. Emphasis has been laid upon the acquisition of manuscript material, because scholars

have shown themselves on the whole more interested in the written than in the printed word. Income for new acquisitions is not yet available from the munificent legacy the Doctor left the Collection, because of plans for a new stack. When the Collection has this income to spend, the acquisition of manuscripts will doubtless still be the primary interest. Close to that aim will be the completing, insofar as possible, of the runs of printed material and the strengthening of the periods in which this review has shown the Collection to be weak. The Collection has always been considered part of The New York Public Library and not a separate entity in itself, and consequently the building-up of its printed sources will not, except for a special purpose, duplicate what is elsewhere in the Library. In his own lifetime, Dr. Berg carried his benefaction to eminence, and by his princely bequest he made it possible for the growth and usefulness of the Collection to continue. All of us at the Library will do our best to see that his wishes are carried out.

Eustace Burnaby's Manufacture of White Paper in England

By Allen T. Hazen

A SUCCESSFUL new manufacture customarily depends on two favorable factors: a new invention and a favorable economic climate. Our patent laws seem to assume the importance of the new invention, and our protective tariffs assert in theory the importance of a favorable economic climate. It may be of some interest to direct attention to what happened in England, after 1675, under the stimulus of the two factors.

The manufacture of paper was not in itself a new invention. Better paper than Burnaby's had been made in Italy and France for three hundred years. But most inventions are only adaptations and improvements: even in today's industrial technology a patent for a completely new product like nylon is infrequent among the mass of new patents for improved closures, green or ammoniated toothpaste, and lightweight alloys. So in the making of paper, the recorded English patents of 1665-1700 are all for improved processes, a machine for chopping the rags or a way of producing white or blue paper, not for the invention of papermaking. John Tate made excellent white paper in Hertford, a few miles north of London, in 1495, and we have examples of it; John Spilman's paper made at Dartford, Kent, a few miles south of London, in 1595, is also first-rate. (The unusually beautiful watermarked paper in Jonson's *Sejanus*, 1605, seems to be Spilman's.) But thereafter the English mills found it impossible to secure clean linen rags, or the foreign workmen refused to teach their methods, or French paper was more con-

veniently available at competitive prices: for such reasons no good printing paper was made in England again until 1675.

I

So I speak in praise of Eustace Burnaby, the first maker of white paper in England after Spilman.[1] This means more precisely the first identifiable maker of good paper: poorer paper was assuredly made in England throughout the seventeenth century, but difficulties with the supply of rags and difficulties about the supply of trained workmen contributed to the central fact, that English mills could not compete with the established supply of good French paper before 1678. Perhaps other mills tried to make good book paper in England soon after 1678, but they are not easy to identify because any paper so made is similar to Norman paper; the Oxford mill at Wolvercote was in operation by 1672, but the Oxford-printed books I have examined of this period are all on French, Dutch, or Italian paper. Burnaby's paper in 1678, however, is said to be the first in his time to be brought to perfection, his patent of 1675 was still valuable in 1690, the paper is identifiable and is of excellent quality. To Burnaby we return, therefore. He received a royal patent in 1675, for "the art and skill of making all sorts of white paper for the use of writing and printing, being a new manufacture never practised in any our kingdoms or dominions." Or, as Burnaby's apologist Henry Million, of whom I shall speak, phrased it in 1678: "the making of white paper fit for writing and printing [was] not practicable in England, till of late, and by the great industry and care of Eustace Burnaby, Esq. [has

[1] This article is slightly altered from a Swante Palm lecture delivered at the University of Texas in April, 1953. Three specialized articles record, with much overlapping, about all that is known of early English paper manufacture; all have used many of the same sources, and I use all three without specific acknowledgment: (1) Rhys Jenkins, "Paper-making in England," in *Library Association Record*, 1900-2; reprinted in his *Collected Papers*, 1936. (2) G. H. Overend, "Notes on the Earlier History of the Manufacture of Paper in England," in *Proceedings of the Huguenot Society of London*, viii (1905-8), 177-220. (3) R. H. George, "A Mercantilist Episode," in *Journal of Economic and Business History*, iii (1931), 264-271. Professor George describes the French ambassador's economic warfare, 1680-90.

been] brought to perfection and may compare with the best in the world." Million made clear that he was speaking of technical adaptation more than of any secret invention, when he added that Burnaby "was the first Englishman that brought it [i.e., the manufacture] into England."[2]

Of Eustace Burnaby, Esq., little seems discoverable; his will seems not to be recorded at Somerset House. He seems to have come of an old Northamptonshire family, but a Eustace Burnaby is reported in Camden's *Visitation of Warwickshire* in 1619. My immediate genealogical knowledge is limited to the will of Eustace Burnaby, Esq., of Coventry in Warwick, presumably the father of the patentee. This will was drawn April 20, 1681, when he was "somewhat infirm in body," and proved May 31, 1684. But although it names his six children, two creditors, and three witnesses, it tells disappointingly little about his son's paper manufacture. His son Eustace, presumably the papermaker, owes him £1,200 on a bond, and some conditions are detailed as to how this money is to be applied to the estate. If the son repays the money within six months, he is to receive the father's moiety "in the employment touching the making of French barly." One other item of interest is the bequest to his wife of all his lands and messuages in Cranborough, the only place-name in the will. Since no Cranborough is recorded in Bartholomew's *Gazetteer* or in earlier lists, this may be a scribal error for the original Cranborn. Of several English Cranborns, the likeliest is the hamlet in Windsor Forest, not five miles from Windsor, and this is actually spelled Cranbury in Carey's *Atlas* of 1787 and in Richard Gough's revised *Camden* of 1789. One may therefore suggest, somewhat doubtfully, that Burnaby's paper mill of 1675 was perhaps at Cranborn[3] just a few miles west of London. Windsor was a great brewing center in the seventeenth

[2] The quotations are from Mark Lewis's *Proposals* of 1678, published by Henry Million. See the book described below.

[3] Jenkins suggested, apparently with no evidence, that Burnaby's mill may have been at Stanwell, Middlesex, just east of Windsor; Cranborn is just west of Windsor.

century, so that the barley mill seems likely enough, whether or not the same mill was used at that time to make paper. Local antiquarians may wish to investigate this hypothesis.

It will now be pertinent, in order to explain the attraction of a site close to Windsor, to report where this investigation of Eustace Burnaby began, and to submit what empirical evidence can be gathered. Joel Munsell added to the third edition of his *Chronology of Paper and Paper-Making* in 1864 the following entry, placing it under the year 1678:

> At the end of a book with this date is the following singular advertisement:
>
> To the King's most excellent majesty, this book is humbly presented, being printed upon English paper, and made within five miles of Windsor, by Eustace Burneby, Esq., who was the first Englishman that brought it into England; attested by Henry Million, who was overseer in the making of this royal manufacture.

Mr. Allan Stevenson has pointed out to me that Munsell's source was undoubtedly Dibdin, who in the Supplement to his *Bibliographical Decameron* identified the book as a copy of Mark Lewis's *Proposals;* Dibdin said that the book, then in his possession, had the advertisement prefixed to it. Mark Lewis's *Proposals to the King and Parliament, or A Large Model of a Bank* (London, Printed for Henry Million, 1678), a small quarto pamphlet of some forty pages, was one of the interesting pamphlets that in time produced the Bank of England; it is not dedicated to the King or published by the King's command, but it is clearly addressed to the King and it is published by Henry Million. At the end is an Errata leaf with several uninteresting corrections and this remarkable sentence: "Much of that discourse about making Paper, and that whole Paragraph of Burying in Linnen, were foisted in by the Bookseller, without my knowledge, as may appear by the incoherence of it."[4] The pamphlet con-

[4] From Million's phrase, quoted in the next paragraph, urging that the Act for Burying in Woollen be reinforced, it seems safe to assume the book was published early in 1678 when the Commons discussed enforcement of the old Act. On one copy

PROPOSALS
TO THE
King and Parliament,
OR A LARGE
MODEL
OF A
BANK,

Shewing how a Fund of a Bank may be made without much charge, or any hazard, that may give out Bills of Credit to a vaſt extent, that all *Europe* will accept of, rather than Mony.

Together with ſome general propoſals in order to an Act of Parliament for the eſtabliſhing this Bank.

Alſo many of the great advantages that will accrue to the Nation, to the Crown, and to the People, are mentioned, with an anſwer to the Objections, that may be made againſt it.

By *M. L.* D. D.

LONDON, Printed for *Henry Million* at the ſign of the *Bible* in *Fleet-Street* 1678.

Title-page of Lewis's *Proposals*, 1678.

tains nothing else about paper or rags; and the passage was almost certainly planned by Lewis, before the bookseller tampered with it, to say generally that a bank would improve commercial methods, and that fishing and various manufactures would flourish, thus promoting export trade and employing idle hands. Such a statement would be left if the following three paragraphs comprising Million's insertion were omitted:

> The Fishery, the Linnen Manufacture and the making of White Paper fit for Writing and Printing not practicable in England, till of late, and by the great industry and care of Eaustacey Burneby, Esq., brought to perfection and may compare with the best in the World, and will employ our idle hands; . . .
>
> This very consideration of making Paper of Rags, we now throw to the Dunghil, and employing all the poor in our linnen manufacture . . . is a sufficient argument . . .
>
> If the Act for burying in Woollen be re-inforc'd it will raise the price of Wool. . . . If this Act be re-inforced, it will help us to many hundred Tuns of Linnen Rags yearly, which will enable us to carry on the making of all sorts of white Paper fit for Writing and Printing; as to the Fishery . . .

These paragraphs are incoherent enough, certainly, but they are full of interest. It is surely not Lewis's text but Million's assertion that the making of white paper was not practicable in England, till of late, and now by Eustace Burnaby it has been brought to perfection. The third paragraph, urging that the Act

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the date has been changed by hand to 1677. In six copies consulted, the word "foisted" has been partially obliterated by hand. The likely sequence seems to be that Lewis read the pamphlet, found the passage inserted by Million, and dictated this Erratum; Million or his printer set up the disclaimer inconspicuously; and then Million, not quite able to endure the accusation of "foisted," struck it through in most copies.

A later example (1737) of a printer's insertion within an author's text is noted in Robert Halsband's edition of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu's *Nonsense of Common-Sense*, in which the printer inserted just six words to transform an innocuous paragraph into a strongly suggestive one; on which Lady Mary wrote: "To my great surprise, my printer had thrown in a little bawdy at the end of a paragraph that no way led to any idea of that sort. You may imagine how much I was provoked. I blotted it out of the few copies I sent to my friends, and immediately sent for the fellow to expostulate with him." The printer, she wrote, insisted that he was only trying to increase the circulation.

ERRATA.

PAge, *p.* 1. *l.* 5. *dele* us. *p.* 14. *l.* 29. for day, *read* pay. *p.* 24. much of that diſcourſe about making Paper, and that whole Paragraph of Burying in Linnen, were [illegible] by the Bookſeller, without my knowledge, as may appear by the [illegible]rence of it: *p.* 22. *l.* 39. for your *r.* poor, *p.* 31. *l.* 3. for as good as can be, *r.* as good Security as can be. Literal faults that do not alter the ſenſe I omit.

and by the great induſtry and care of *Eauſtacey Burneby* Eſq; brought to perfection and may compare with the beſt in the World, and will employ our idle hands; we import yearly in thred, twine, tape, linnen; hemp, flax and paper, above fourteen hundred thouſand Pounds *per Annum*, all this would be ſaved. If we ſhould make more than we uſe, we may export our Commodity, as well as others.

This very conſideration of making Paper of Rags, we now throw to the Dunghil, and employing all the poor in our Linnen Manufacture, which is bought of Foreiners with dry Mony, is a ſufficient argument to excite thoſe in Authority with all their vigour to promote theſe Banks that they may keep their Caſh in the Nation, and be freed from the charge of maintaining their poor by a pound rate.

If the Act for burying in Wooſlen be re-inforc'd it will raiſe the price of Wool, now worth little, and we ſhould have conſumed more than is now in *England*, if it had bin put in execution, it will alſo prevent the exportation of great quantitys of Wooll before the working of it up. The mixture of our Wooll with Foreign Wooll maketh it fit for Manufacture, which otherwiſe would not be, which is ſold at lower rates, and hinders the ſending over of greater quantitys of Cloth to the prejudice of Woollen Drapers and Clothiers, great part of which are forc'd to leave off their Employments for want of Trade, the poor would have bin employed in working up Wooll and making Cloth. If this Act be re-inforced, it will help us to many hundred Tuns of Linnen Rags yearly, which will enable us to cary on the making of all ſorts of white Paper fit for Writing and Printing; as to the Fiſhery, the *Dutch* to be ſure have made a good Market of it.

4. People will increaſe, Trade will bring in People to the Nation.

Above: Errata leaf of Lewis's *Proposals.*
Below: Million's insertion.

for Burying in Woollen be reinforced, shows still more clearly that Million wrote these three paragraphs.

II

Henry Million's interest in the Act for Burying in Woollen was considerable. In a rare, perhaps unique, broadside preserved by Narcissus Luttrell and now at Harvard, called *The Case of Henry Million, Stationer* (Wing C917; undated, but printed in early autumn of 1679), he complains that he has been "at very great charges in promoting the woollen manufacture; but more especially he first brought in by Sir George Downing the Bill for burying in Woollen, which doth now enable us to make the best paper. . . . For which the Lord Chancellor granted him a licence to print the affidavits [required to enforce the Act]. . . . But since . . . the expiration of the Act for printing [the Licensing Act], several others do now invade his privileges. . . ." Million was an incorrigible projector, but the records support this particular claim. The old Act for Burying in Woollen (18 Charles II) of 1666-67 ordered that only woollen was to be used, but provided no machinery for enforcement. The *Commons Journals* show that Downing was in fact the man[5] who pushed through in 1678 the new Act with the careful provision for enforcing affidavits and stiff penalties for noncompliance. The Act was of course planned to raise the price of wool and encourage the weaving industry,[6] but another objective clear to Henry Million was to improve the supply of linen for papermaking. Within a

[5] Sir George Downing (1623?-1684), the second graduate of Harvard College, is not usually regarded by historians as an amiable character and nobody seems to have liked him, but if unscrupulous he was also skillful and useful in Parliament. It may be of some interest to note that this Act of 1678 remained on the books for 120 years.

[6] A secondary objective was to provide employment in weaving for orphans and the vagrant poor in each parish. Papermaking likewise claimed to offer employment to the poor: Spilman had urged in his application of 1589 that he would be able to employ many poor men. And much later, during the excise discussion of 1711, a rare broadside called *The Paper-makers Case* protests the heavy excise tax by saying the paper manufacture makes linen rags profitable and maintains forty thousand poor. On this broadside is the printed endorsement: "This is English-made paper, arising from the dunghill, by the industry and labour of the poor, which will be ruined by a farther duty." The broadside is on first-rate paper, too.

few weeks after the Act was passed, July 13, 1678, Henry Million and John Bellinger among others entered for copyright in the Stationers' Register the various affidavits required by the Act and licensed to them by the Lord Chancellor or by Sir Roger L'Estrange. These were the printed forms needed by the various officials concerned.

But the monopoly of these forms was not easy to maintain. On October 10, 1678, Bellinger and Million had to advertise in the *Gazette* that affidavits lacking their names were counterfeits and were illegal invasions of their licensed monopoly. Two weeks later the government sent an order to all clergymen to permit Henry Million (and two others) "to view and take copies of all registers and affidavits . . . that such as shall be found offenders may be prosecuted." (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic,* October 26, 1678.) Then the Licensing Act lapsed in July, 1679, and Million is, I think, not recorded as a publisher after 1679. Perhaps his association with Burnaby ceased at about the same time. Million seems also to have been an able engraver, because Moses Rusden's *Further Discovery of Bees,* "Published by His Majesties especial command and approved by the Royal Society" and sold by Million in 1679, has an attractive plate of a beehive signed "Henry Million delin." He is known to me later only in 1690, when he and Nicholas Dupin were granted a patent to establish the linen manufacture in Ireland, and on the same date Dupin, who had been in the English Company of White Paper Makers, was granted an Irish patent for white paper (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic,* December 13, 1690); and in 1691 when Million and John Emmerton, Esq., were granted a patent to make tinplate in Ireland (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic,* September 21, 1691).

III

So much for Henry Million, of whom one would like to know more. The major figure is not Million but Burnaby, and his paper. The watermark in the Mark Lewis *Proposals* of 1678 is

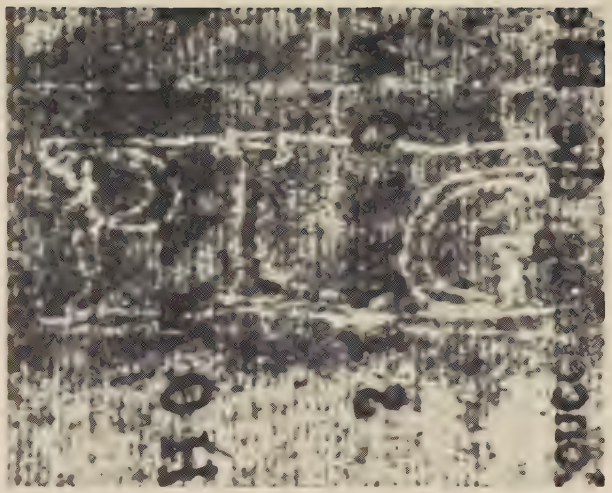
P L G, and the association between the book and Henry Million's assertions seems to prove the paper to be English-made at Burnaby's mill. Better yet, an octavo pamphlet published by Henry Million for Mark Lewis in 1677, *Proposals to increase Trade,* has for its watermark the initials E B. (The watermark is trimmed in the copy at Columbia, but is complete at Yale and the British Museum.) Burnaby perhaps used his own initials in some of his earliest paper, whereas the initials P L G may stand for his mill foreman or master workman. Nearly all the skilled papermakers were French Huguenots, and the triple initial, with "L" perhaps standing for French "Le," seems normal. I can suggest only doubtfully that the initials might be those of a shadowy Peter Gualtier: he became a citizen October 10, 1688; the next year a Peter Gautier (the name is variously spelled), "aged 40 . . . French protestant and hatter by trade," was granted permission to leave the country, November 13, 1689; on December 24, 1691, Peter Gaultier petitioned for a patent for making fine paper; on March 1, 1692, Pierre Gaultier was granted permission to go to France or Flanders. (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic,* under the respective dates. A Pierre Galtier is elsewhere recorded as a papermaker in Angoulême, but his dates are uncertain.) If these entries refer to the same man, variously a hatter and a papermaker, he would have been about twenty-eight when he made the paper for the Lewis *Proposals*. But since there is no proof for Gaultier, it is better to turn to the empirical evidence of the paper itself.

With no very consistent search, I have found the watermark P L G in the paper of twelve pamphlets dated variously from 1678 to 1688. The marks reproduced are not from the Lewis *Proposals* but from Robert Foulkes's *Alarme for Sinners,* published by Langley Curtis in January, 1679. The two marks illustrate the use of twin moulds.[7] Sometimes, but less commonly, the initials are placed to read across the chain-lines, and they are

[7] Another issue of the Foulkes pamphlet is on a different paper, possibly English, and I have seen one copy on a fine imported paper.

Watermark in *An Alarme for Sinners*, 1679.

The companion watermark in same book.



Watermark in frame, 1681.

Watermark of the Company, *ca.* 1695.
(See p. 330.)

arranged in three circles imitating an Italian design in one pamphlet of 1681. The third mark illustrated, with the initials framed, is from a Popish Plot pamphlet of 1681.[8]

The paper of these twelve pamphlets, despite minor variations in quality, is an entirely respectable manufacture, somewhat speckled and not so white as the best Italian paper, but stronger and better than much French printing paper of the time. An untrimmed sheet is roughly 16 x 12 inches, about the usual dimensions of French pot paper. It may be noted in passing that several of these pamphlets were published by Langley Curtis, the radical publisher of his time; seldom is every sheet watermarked P L G, and some other pamphlets published by Curtis are on Italian paper, so that observed facts support one's expectation—that since not much English paper was available to him, he bought small lots of paper wherever he could.

IV

To try to explain the observed facts, we turn now to the second factor in the original hypothesis, the stimulus of a favorable economic climate. Burnaby's decision to begin his enterprise was perhaps not immediately related to economic warfare, but it is clear that his enterprise was unexpectedly benefited when Parliament voted in the Poll Bill of March 20, 1678, to prohibit all commodities, including paper, of the growth or manufacture of France. In the list, paper looks unimportant, but it is one of the major items, perhaps about a third of the total of French imports to England estimated at some £300,000 a year. This was economic warfare before war was declared, but in expectation of a prompt declaration; there was actually no declaration at this time because the Dutch and French signed the Peace of Nijmeguen in August.[9] The striking fact is that in 1678 England

[8] Number 2859 in Edward Heawood's *Watermarks* (1951) shows P L G in what is probably French paper, used in a book published at Paris in 1696; this does not need to stand for the same man.

[9] Just a little earlier the French had proposed to prohibit all trade with England, but they dropped the plan when their own merchants showed that the export of paper alone, mostly to England, amounted to £100,000 a year. See an economic tract

decided to disrupt its own commercial life in order to attempt to weaken France and to strengthen domestic industry.

Importers were of course violent in denunciation of the embargo. For one thing, they were so afraid of Dutch commerce that Danby put pressure on Holland to join England in forbidding all trade in French commodities (*Cal. State Papers, Domestic*, July 1 and 22, 1678). The embargo continued to be enforced, and it was reiterated in a Proclamation of January 19, 1680. But merchants certainly tried to circumvent the embargo, and the Dutch were ready to help. Thus Anthony Thorold reported, October 19, 1678:

> This week two of our ships came into the Cobb from Morlaix [a paper-making center]. . . . They are very joyful at the peace made and hope it will be general. . . . There is not a due observation of the prohibition of French goods, but much are brought in to several ports, notwithstanding some extraordinary charge to his Majesty to prevent it, as well as loss to his customs *(Cal. State Papers, Domestic)*.

In addition to the leakage by smuggling, whatever French paper was in stock could be used. And, by the terms of the Poll Bill, French paper already in the country could legally be sold until May 1, 1679, and stocked for books in prospect but not completed until long afterwards; and Dutch factors seem to have been able to import as Dutch some papers manufactured in France.

The important economic fact for the English manufacture, nevertheless, is the sudden cutting off of French imports. Langley Curtis, for example, used French paper in 1678, but English or Italian paper in 1679. I have a list of some twenty Eng-

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of 1679, *An Account of the French usurpation upon the trade of England*, by J. B. Other records agree well enough that the importation of paper from France amounted to nearly £100,000 a year. As late as 1690 the Paper-Sellers, who wished to minimize the competition of imported paper, admitted that imports still came to £50,000 a year.

In the same tract, J. B. points out that the Act for Burying in Woollen, if enforced, will "preserve the linen cloth for making of paper, which will save this nation some hundred thousand pounds a year." And a satirical tract of 1678, *The Good-wives Lamentation*, also emphasizes the relation between the Act for Burying in Woollen and the domestic manufacture of paper.

lish books of the next few years printed on identifiable Italian paper;[10] and there are announcements in the *London Gazette* of the sale of 4,000 reams of Genoa paper on April 3, 1679, and 7,000 reams of Genoa plus some Venice paper on April 8, 1679. Furthermore, the use of Burnaby's good English paper in numerous pamphlets also attests to the embargo's effectiveness. By 1685, when the French embargo was repealed, the English paper industry was at least alive, even if not an especially sturdy infant. During the next few years, there was grave doubt whether it could stand up to renewed competition from the established French mills. Even somewhat later, in 1698, English mills had difficulty, and a rare broadside issued then in favor of higher duties, *Reasons for Further Additional Duties upon Paper*, complains that the existing duty of 15 per cent on imported paper is not enough because the higher wages, etc., of the domestic industry cannot compete with foreign paper. It also asserts that many English makers "are forced to turn their mills to the making brown paper (to the ruin of that employ also) because their profits is rendered so inconsiderable by the cheapness of foreign paper."

The prevailing mercantilist theories of protection and monopoly led directly to active French efforts to destroy the English industry by enticing French workmen back to France, even after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.[11] In 1685 the records are

[10] Not that no Italian paper came into England before the French embargo; excellent Italian paper was used at Oxford in 1676, for an example. But the notable influx of Italian printing paper clearly began after the embargo—and continued until a new economic accident, the War of Jenkins' Ear in October, 1739, shut off the Italian trade, thus stimulating Whatman and others to manufacture fine English paper in quantity.

[11] A hundred years earlier the French had tried to stifle an incipient English paper industry. Richard Tottle in his petition says that he has tried to establish papermaking, "but the Frenchmen did by all means possible labour to destroy the work begun ... as by procuring all our rags ... to be brought over to them, by bringing in great abundance of paper [and selling it at a loss in England], ... and lastly by practising the destruction of the workmen and by writing and calling them traitors to their country, and sending men of purpose to slay them, as it hath been credibly declared unto me." (Petition *ca.* 1585, quoted in *Stationers' Register*, and also quoted by Jenkins.) And in 1588 a warrant was issued to apprehend the German workmen from Spilman's mill who were trying to flee the country.

explicit: the French sent a special envoy with money to be used to lure French Protestant papermakers back to France. He listed more than five hundred workmen whom he had persuaded to return; the French ambassador coöperated, and he kept account of money used to send back to France a number of French papermakers. Clearly, a supply of French workmen was desperately needed. Indeed, the first petition by the Company of White Paper Makers in 1685 argues for a charter because they have brought excellent workmen from France who are using several new-invented mills and engines. At about the same time Dennis Manes, a French-born papermaker who went to France in 1685 to recruit more workers, was jailed at Caen;[12] and in 1686 Louis XIV issued a Proclamation forbidding the papermakers of Auvergne to leave France. In 1690 the Company's charter pointed out that the Company had been put to great expense and been exposed to great hazard in attempting to develop the paper manufacture, "the said attempt being highly opposed by the ministers and agents of the French King." A Proclamation of James II, on April 29, 1687, even gave a kind of police power to the Company of White Paper Makers to arrest anybody who might try to entice their workmen away, a clause that was inserted because the Company showed that several evil-disposed persons, foreigners and others, had tried to destroy the manufacture by corrupting the workmen and had conveyed several beyond the seas; but this police power was not continued in the Act of 1690.

V

A short account of the Company of White Paper Makers may be in order, before we link Eustace Burnaby to it. It was chartered as a monopoly by James II, July 23, 1686, after six months

[12] Manes was a Protestant from Angoulême who had established a mill near Plymouth in January, 1683/4, with the privilege of using the royal arms as watermark. On April 24, 1686, he wrote: "I have been in prison eleven months at Caen for trying to send three paper makers to some works I have with Messrs. Cardonnel, Dupin, Gruchy, at Hoileton near Southampton." (Historical MSS Commission, Downshire MSS, 1924.) In a petition of August 16, 1689, Manes claims the Company (i.e., Cardonnel *et al.*) had obtained their patent [of May, 1685] while he was imprisoned, and then forced him on his return to sign over his privilege to them.

of cross-petitions and compromises, to encourage the making of white paper. (The timing only a few months after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October, 1685, was perhaps mere coincidence; the patentees were long-established Huguenots who had been making paper and had been granted permission in May, 1685, to use the royal arms as a watermark, but they first petitioned for a monopoly in December, 1685.) John Briscoe, the only patentee other than Burnaby to specify white paper as his accomplishment, protested against the monopoly, but he was then taken into the Company when it was chartered in July, 1686.[13] Next came the renewed embargo on all French commodities, in the Proclamation of April 25, 1689, when, as Edmund Bohun says in his *Diary*, "Paper became so dear that all printing stopped." But if this new embargo of 1689-96 was hard on the printers and booksellers, it gave another boost to the domestic papermakers. On May 20, 1690, after long discussions and numerous petitions, a private Act continued the Company of White Paper Makers as a joint-stock company, with its monopoly extended for an additional term. The Act asserts in its preamble that dependence on "commodities of the growth and manufacture of France and particularly of white writing and printing paper" has pernicious consequences; a monopoly is granted because of the "many difficulties and great expenses," and the export of linen rags is forbidden; but the Company is at the same time ordered to open its subscription books to any other makers who may wish to join it.

Not a great deal is known about the Company, although it flourished at least until 1696. It issued *Proposals* to offer additional stock, and to purchase paper mills.[14] Its £50 par stock was

[13] Briscoe's patent, July 4, 1685, was for "the true and proper art and way for making English paper ... as good and serviceable in all respects and especially as white as any French or Dutch paper." Whether or not he actually made book paper in that year, he joined the Company's monopoly in 1686.

[14] First in a rare pamphlet, *The Case of the Company of White Paper Makers*, December, 1689; secondly, after the private Act had passed, in the summer of 1690. The first pamphlet includes what is almost a summary of the whole problem of this discussion. It points out that papermaking will employ many poor people, and

bid up to £94 in 1693, and to £150 in March, 1694. Sales of "several sorts of writing and printing paper" at the Company's warehouse are announced in the *London Gazette* for March 19 and August 9, 1694, and February 11, and November 4, 1695. I have an interesting document preserved by Archbishop Tenison, an announcement of an auction in November, 1691, that lists kinds and quantities; but these, I regret to say, seem to include imported paper, perhaps supplementary to the domestic manufacture. Several examples of paper of differing sizes, datable between 1690 and 1695, have the word COMPANY as countermark and I think it safe to assume that these were all made under the monopoly: they are yellower than the better imported papers but are completely respectable.

VI

Now Burnaby is to be linked to the Company of White Paper Makers, or rather, it is necessary to explain the absence of his name from the list of incorporators. It seems odd at first that Burnaby should not have joined the Company, more particularly since on June 22, 1685, just when Briscoe received a patent, Burnaby had petitioned for leave to bring in a bill for encouragement of the manufacture of paper. (The index to this entry in the *Commons Journals* says: "Ordered, not presented.") Yet Burnaby is not named in the petitions that produced the Company's charter, although Briscoe and Bladen (another patentee) joined the Company. Since Burnaby is not likely to have died in the summer of 1685, another explanation is needed.

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will keep money here that has been going to France. And so James II granted divers patents; but the patentees found that their separate interests threatened to ruin the manufacture by forcing up wages and the price of materials, so that James II therefore united the several interests into the Company in 1686. Then the charge against the French ambassador is repeated.

Similar joint-stock companies were established for other industries. The rare broadside *Proposals of the Governor and Assistants of the King and Queen's Corporation for Encouraging and Carrying on the Linen Manufacture,* 1690, preserved in the Seligman Collection at Columbia, shows that its patent was granted only a week after the Act establishing the Paper Makers, and that its plan for capitalization was almost identical.

There will be expoſed to Sale by the Company of White-Paper-Makers, *at their Warehouſe in* Abchurch-Lane, *on Monday, Tueſday and Wedneſday, being the ſecond, third and fourth of* November, *the ſeveral Sorts of Paper as followeth,*

V I Z.

N° *Piles.*		*Reams.*	N° *Piles.*		*Reams.*
1	Printing Demy	144	27	Fine Lumber —	40
2	Ditto	130	28	Printing Demy	120
3	Fine Medium	92	29	Ditto	100
4	Morleaux Crown	119	30	Ditto	100
5	Fine Medium	24	31	Ditto	126
6	Printing Demy	100	32	Morleaux Crown	139
7	Poſt Paper	80	33	Litteris Crown ſize —	28
8	Courſe Royal	150	34	Printing Demy	124
9	Printing Demy	105	35	Ditto	116
10	Poſt Paper	104	36	Cane Fool's-cap —	65
11	Printing Demy	144	37	Litteris Crown ſize	78
12	Poſt Paper	108	38	Poſt Paper	75
13	Morleaux Crown	50	39	Printing Demy	76
14	Ditto	59	40	Morleaux Crown	50
15	Ditto	102	41	Litteris Crown ſize	64
16	Printing Demy	59	42	Ditto	54
17	Fool's-cap Litteris	444	43	Printing Demy	53
18	Courſe Morleaux	70	44	Fine Demy	33
19	Cane Fool's-cap	130	45	Morleaux Crown	46
20	Ditto	124	46	Fine ſmall Horn —	36
21	Ditto	110	47	Ditto	21
22	Morleaux Crown	105	48	Ditto, ſeveral of ſmall Horn	100
23	Printing Demy	130	49	Fine Morleaux Crown —	144
24	Watchet blew Paper, Royal ſize	74	50	Printing Demy	36
25	Fine Medium	28	51	Courſe Morleaux	36
26	Watchet blew Paper, Fool's-cap ſize	22	52	Several Sorts of Caſſiy Paper	30

Announcement of paper auction by the Company, November, 1691.

The true explanation seems to be found in a clause of the private Act of 1690: "This Act shall not prejudice any right or interest which Dame Theodosia Ivy *alias* Brian hath . . . by vertue of any conveyance or assignment made unto her by Nathaniel Blaydon, Esq." Burnaby is still not mentioned, but in the Commons' debate about the Act, on April 15, 1690, there is recorded a petition of Lady Theodosia Ivy, widow, "that about eight years since she purchased several patents of Eustace Barnaby and Nathaniel Bladen, Esqs., the first that were ever granted for white paper and they are not yet expired." (In the Act itself, Burnaby's name perhaps dropped out.) The figure of eight years before 1690 need not be exact, but I suspect this entry explains the absence of Burnaby's name: he had sold his patent about 1682, possibly because the elder Burnaby was in poor health, and his application of June 22, 1685, was perhaps only a tentative proposal to re-enter the manufacture. It is possible that P L G (whether Gualtier or somebody else) continued to operate the mill at Cranborn for Dame Theodosia.

One more suggestion lacks documentary proof: Burnaby may well have leased the mill from St. George's Chapel, Windsor, and Dame Theodosia may have taken up the lease. This hypothesis might explain another clause in the Act of 1690: "Whereas the Dean and Canons of Windsor are seised in right of their Church of Windsor of three mills now used for making brown paper which are now in lease," the Company at any time within two years shall take over one or more leases upon tender from the Dean and Canons. Sequence may have no reliable relation to meaning in legal jargon, but the clause about the mills at Windsor immediately precedes the final clause: "Provided nevertheless that this Act or anything herein contained shall not prejudice any right or interest" of Dame Theodosia.

It may be that Burnaby had converted his paper mill by about 1681 to the manufacture of barley; or the barley mill may even have been a wholly separate project. All that is certainly known

is that his patent of 1675 was perhaps sold to Dame Theodosia about 1682, and that it was still valuable in 1690; paper from his mill is identifiable for a few years after 1677. One other note about Burnaby may be of interest; in the *London Gazette*, March 17, 1678/9, is the following item: "His Majesty having been pleased to grant by his Letters Patents to Eustace Barnaby or his assigns the sole use and art of planting safflower (for Dyers use) which he hath acquired by great pains and travel in Germany, . . . they that please may have seed and licence for 25/- the acre. . . ." Burnaby was a man of more than one interest.

Perhaps it is because he dropped out of papermaking himself that Burnaby's name appears in the annals less frequently than that of Nicholas Dupin. Dupin was an endless projector. He was one of the incorporators of the Company in 1686; he tried to start a linen company in England in 1690, and one in Ireland; he received a patent to make white paper in Ireland in 1690; he tried to manufacture both linen and paper in Scotland in 1694; and he urged a new linen project in London in 1698. I have no evidence that he ever stopped to manufacture anything. But Eustace Burnaby deserves praise as the first maker of white paper in modern England, and as the only man whose paper can be certainly identified.

Lahontan: An Essay and Bibliography

By A. H. Greenly

LOUIS-ARMAND de Lom was born June 9, 1666, in the village of Lahontan in the province of Béarn in southern France. When the boy was eight, his father died, and he inherited the title of Baron Lahontan. Through family influence, the young baron became a "garde" in the Marine Corps. The Department of Marine being then entrusted with the care of the colonies, Lahontan went to New France as a member of the Marine Corps which was sent in 1683 for action against the Iroquois Indians at the request of De la Barre, who had just succeeded Frontenac as governor of New France. Even at this early age of seventeen, Lahontan had become skeptical and somewhat cynical, due probably to his own and his father's reverses. His cynicism is reflected in his writing. During his first years in Canada, he learned the Indian language used in that part of the country, and because of that, and his mastery of the ways of the forest, he was sent in 1687 by Denonville, who had succeeded De la Barre, to command at Fort St. Joseph, near the present site of Port Huron, Michigan. Along with this expedition also went Dulhut and Tonti, who were destined to points beyond Fort St. Joseph. Lahontan undoubtedly learned from these explorers much of their earlier voyages, and also those of Joliet, La Salle, Marquette, Perrot and others. He thus learned much of the explorations of the Mississippi River, which probably awoke in him the desire to do some exploring of his own.

Lahontan was a restless commander and did considerable roving while in command at this fort. He went to Michilimackinac, ostensibly to purchase supplies, and to Sault Ste. Marie. In July,

1688, he joined a party of Chippewa Indians in a raid on the Iroquois. On this expedition he was accompanied by the Huron chief, The Rat, who became the "Adario" of Lahontan's dialogues. The real Adario, however, was Lahontan himself. The dialogues were therefore really with himself; a device for airing his somewhat radical views. Late in the summer, he abandoned Fort St. Joseph, and went to Michilimackinac. During the following winter he made the alleged voyage on which he claimed to have discovered Long River, the apocryphal account of which did so much to discredit the relation of his earlier experiences.

Authorities differ radically as to the truth of Lahontan's story of Long River. The extremes are well represented by Charlevoix and Stephen Leacock. Charlevoix, himself a Jesuit, considered Lahontan a liar and an impostor. He says that the story of the discovery of Long River "is as fabulous as the island of Barataria, of which Sancho Panza was governor." Stephen Leacock, on the other hand, writes that Lahontan's letters and memoirs "form a conspicuous and interesting portion of the first-hand material of the history of Canada." He goes on to say, "The real merit of Lahontan has been obscured through a mist of historical odium. It was his ill fortune to repeat, as a young man of seventeen years of age, certain barrack room jokes about the women of New France. This earned for him the resentment of all historians and critics from that day to this. It was his further ill fortune to present to the public in the form of a dialogue with an Indian a rationalistic attack on what were then the accepted doctrines of Christianity. Placed thus beyond the pale of a sympathetic hearing, his account of his journey to the Mississippi region was received, and is still received, with incredulity and derision. If his claim had been accepted as true, Lahontan would have been recognized as having gone beyond the furthest confines of exploration in the northwest hitherto achieved. His name would have been honored along with those of Joliet, Marquette and La Salle. In place of that, Lahontan is branded

as a liar and a cheat, as a mere idle-brained Munchausen incapable of truth.

"The truth lies in exactly the opposite direction. The great value of Lahontan's writing, or of ninety-nine-one-hundredths of it, lies in its exactness, in the picture which it produces of the actual facts, the actual conditions of the life, the wars, the dangers and the hardships of the colony of New France. Lahontan wrote with a lack of conscious effort, with no anxious striving for style or effect. So wrote Xenophon and Julius Caesar and John Bunyan, telling what they saw and knew, and unconcerned with the manner of their narration."

I have quoted thus at length from Stephen Leacock because the book in which it appeared had very slight circulation; Mr. Leacock himself never had a copy.[1] Mr. Leacock was of the opinion that the Long River story was in fact the story of Lahontan's discovery and exploration of the Minnesota or St. Peter's River. He says that John Carver's description of this river explored by him during the years 1766 to 1768, "entirely corroborates Lahontan's account." Carver was the next white man after Lahontan to ascend the Minnesota and leave an account of his travels.

I believe, however, that the weight of evidence is against Lahontan with respect to his Long River story. The most competent and thorough students of Lahontan, J.-Edmond Roy and Robert le Blant, agree that the Long River story is a fabrication. Lahontan claims to have performed this voyage between September, 1688, and April, 1689, a period entirely too short for the voyage he claimed to have made, especially during the winter season. It would seem only natural and logical for a discovery of this magnitude to have been reported to the French government, or, at least to M. Denonville, the governor of New

[1] Louis Armand de Lom d'Arce, baron de Lahontan. *Lahontan's Voyages.* Edited with Introduction and Notes by Stephen Leacock. Ottawa, Graphic Publishers Limited, 1932.

This is a reprint of the first English edition, 2 vols., London, 1703. Its principal value lies in Leacock's introduction and notes.

France. Neither seems to have been notified, nor did he, evidently, report it to Frontenac, his good friend. In fact, the first public notice of this momentous discovery seems to have been made thirteen years later, when Lahontan's book was published. No other contemporary letters or books which have been preserved mention such a discovery.

In 1687, La Salle's brother built a fort on the Mississippi River in what is now Arkansas and erected a cross bearing the French coat of arms. Lahontan claims to have been in the same locality a year later, but does not mention what must have been a notable landmark. His whole description of the Mississippi River, to say nothing of Long River, is very vague, in strong contrast to his earlier memoirs. Perrot, who was at the mouth of St. Peter's River in 1689, does not mention either Lahontan or Long River. The names of the Indian tribes mentioned by Perrot as inhabiting that region are not even similar to those named by Lahontan. The missionary Lesueur was in this region fourteen years, just after Lahontan's alleged voyage, but he never found the tribes mentioned by Lahontan. Lahontan even gets his dates mixed about his voyage. In the 1703 editions, he says that he entered Long River November 2, 1688; in later editions he said that it was on November 7, 1688.

July, 1689, found Lahontan again in Montreal with the intention of returning to Europe to attend to his personal affairs, which were in desperate straits, but before he could depart, Frontenac returned on October 15, 1689, to displace the unpopular Denonville. Conscripting Lahontan because of his knowledge of affairs, Frontenac made him his friend and companion. In 1690, Lahontan returned to France, but found slight favor with Ponchartrain, who was then in power. In September, 1691, Lahontan was back in Quebec, where he spent a gay winter as Frontenac's protégé. In the summer of 1692, Frontenac sent the young man again to Court to present his plans for defenses against the Iroquois. On his landing at Plaisance (Placentia),

Newfoundland, en route to France, it was reported that five English frigates were coming up the bay. Governor de Brouillon with Lahontan's assistance resisted an attack, enabling Lahontan again to report success at Court. As reward, he was appointed Lieutenant of the King for Newfoundland and Acadia. He found no favor with De Brouillon, who persecuted him, and Lahontan, fearing for his life, because of intrigues, fled. As a deserter, he could not seek shelter in France, so he went first to Portugal, then to Holland. While in Holland, he visited Hamburg, Germany, whence he wrote the letter dated June 19, 1694, which appears in translation in *Oakes Collection,* published by the Public Archives of Canada in 1940. This letter was intended to come to the notice of the French Court, hoping to win its favorable action on Lahontan's return to France. The letter, for some unknown reason, contained a fabricated tale about meeting in Hamburg survivors of La Salle's last expedition, which, upon investigation, was found to be untrue. When Lahontan returned to his native province to attend to his personal affairs, he avoided arrest by escaping across the border into Spain. From that time until the publication of his book in Holland, there is no record of his whereabouts. From his books, it appears he wandered in the Low Countries, Denmark and England, and finally found refuge under the protection of the Elector of Hanover, at whose Court he became the friend of the philosopher Leibnitz. During this time, he succeeded in building up his social position. England and Holland wished to establish themselves in America and to participate in the prosperity enjoyed there by France. He had been repudiated by his own government, and was therefore seeking the favors of either the English or Dutch governments. (He was not the only Frenchman so to seek favor.) Very little is known of Lahontan's life during this period. He died in 1715; the exact date is not known.

Lahontan was, no doubt, driven as a last resource to publish his letters. He had been deprived of his inheritance, and was refused reinstatement to favor in France. He was a destitute wan-

derer, compelled by necessity to publish his book. It immediately became a best seller. Its popularity, attested by many editions in several languages, endured to the middle of the nineteenth century. He had offered his services to his own government, with plans for the defense of the lakes against English invasion, but had been repulsed. He then proffered his advice to the English government and went to London, from whence he had received some encouragement. His negotiation with the English government is disclosed by the documents reprinted in the *Oakes Collection*. He received in England the encouragement of the Duke of Devonshire, which resulted in the publication of an English translation of his book, in some respects better than the original French. Lahontan's work had a popular appeal for the average reader, who was no doubt bored by the ecclesiasticism of such books as the Jesuit *Relations*. He had evidently thought that a straightforward, honest relation of his adventures would not have a lasting appeal, and that consequently he would have to pose as a discoverer, such as Hennepin or La Salle. He therefore invented the tale of the discovery of Long River and even drew a map of it, which he thought would enhance the sale of the book. Perhaps it did, but his prevarication later cast reflections on the truth of the parts of his book in which he had honestly reported what he actually saw and heard. The part of his book known as *Mémoires* consists of the valuable observations of a man not bound by the religious scruples which restricted the reports of most of the French explorers of that time. He was sometimes inclined to exaggeration, as illustrated by his statement that the Niagara Falls were seven or eight hundred feet high, and his statement that there were crocodiles in the Ohio and Wabash rivers. While all his writings are tinged with cynicism and caustic wit, he reports his observations in the *Mémoires* succinctly and honestly. This was, no doubt, a great relief from the ever-recurring conversions and baptisms of the Jesuit *Relations*. Lahontan was a man far in advance of his time. Veracious but crude, the *Mémoires* reflect the writer at his best.

The report of his travels in Denmark and Portugal in Volume 3 is very mediocre, and contrasts sharply with his keen observations in the *Mémoires*. Volume 3 also contains the dialogues, which went far in establishing Lahontan's fame. Following three editions in 1703 and one in 1704, the publishers, in response to public demand, arranged for a comprehensive revision of the text. It was a radical revision. The text was rearranged, the truth substituted for some of the lies, and the travels in Denmark and Portugal eliminated entirely, as too personal and repetitious. The revision was published in 1705. The preface states that it was made in response to public taste, and that the sense of the author was conserved. Be that as it may, it was a pretty drastic revision, evidently made without consulting the author.

It is not definitely known who made the revision, but it appears that a young, unfrocked but educated priest, Nicolas Guedeville, who was employed at literary work in Amsterdam, was employed by the publishers for the work. There is no evidence that Lahontan even knew Guedeville. Charlevoix reached the conclusion that it was Guedeville by a comparison of the revision with known writings by Guedeville; the Holland editors said it was Guedeville; and other contemporary writers (Bernard) thought that it was he. The theological nature of the revision, not characteristic of Lahontan's writing, lends strength to the argument that Guedeville made the revision—especially of the dialogues. The 1703 dialogues were radically revised, and a new one added. Guedeville's connection with Lahontan's works is comprehensively commented upon by J.-Edmond Roy in his essay, "Le baron de Lahontan,"[2] by Robert le Blant in his *Histoire de la Nouvelle France*,[3] and by Gilbert Chinard in his book.[4]

[2] J.-Edmond Roy, "Le baron de Lahontan." *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Sec. I, 1894, pp. 63-192.

[3] Robert le Blant, *Histoire de la Nouvelle France. Les Sources Narratives du début du XVIIIe siècle et le Recueil de Gédéon de Catalogne*. Dax, 4 Rue Vincent-Depaul: P. Pradeu, Imprimeur-Editeur, n.d. Première Partie. (Les Voyages du Baron de Lahontan, pp. 23-83.)

[4] See Bibliography.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The bibliography herewith presented is a recension of the one compiled by Victor Hugo Paltsits fifty years ago and included in a reprint of the 1703 English edition of Lahontan's book, published by A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago, in 1905. That the bibliography was a wonderful piece of work I can testify, knowing something of the complications of the subject. During the past fifty years, however, there has been a great deal of additional research, which discovered facts that were not known to the earlier bibliographers. Sabin frankly admitted diffidence in presenting some of his descriptions. It is probable that a revised bibliography is now justified. I present it with some of Sabin's diffidence. It may be well to specify some of the principal additions to and corrections of Paltsits' bibliography:

(1) The discovery at the Newberry Library, Chicago, of a previously unrecorded edition in French, published in two volumes by Isaac Delorme (The Hague, 1712).

(2) The publication by the Public Archives of Canada of reprints of some manuscript documents by Lahontan in their possession. These are evidently memoranda intended for the English government, advising about the fortification of the Great Lakes to prevent the French from penetrating that region. The French government had repulsed advice of a similar nature which Lahontan had offered for their protection against the English. There is also in this bibliography a synopsis of an additional manuscript of a similar nature by Lahontan recently acquired by the Public Archives of Canada, and not yet published; also a synopsis of another manuscript of similar nature in the William L. Clements Library at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Michigan.

(3) Mr. Wright Howes, Chicago, Ill., who assisted me with this compilation, discovered that Volumes 2 and 3 of the 1741 French edition are correctly numbered on their title pages. This is explained in its proper place.

(4) There are so many copies of Volume 2 of the 1703 English edition which do not contain a frontispiece, that it appears this volume was published both with and without it. The frontispieces in the copies containing it are printed on different paper from the same frontispiece in Volume 2 of the 1735 English edition, thus indicating that the frontispiece in some copies of Volume 2 of the 1703 edition was not the 1735 frontispiece inserted.

1703—French: Angel edition

There are sets of the Angel edition consisting of Vols. 1 and 2 accompanied by the 1703 edition of the *Suplément;* by the 1704 *Suite;* and by the 1704 *Dialogues.*

Volume 1:

Nouveaux | Voyages | de | Mr. le Baron de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une rélation des différens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur | Commerce, leurs Coutumes, leur Religion, & | leur maniére de faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Emblematic circular cut of Angel, etc., with inscription underneath] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchand Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCCIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (4); "Preface," pp. (7); "Table des Lettres du Tome I," pp. (9); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes qui se trouvent dans le premier Tome," pp. 267-279; verso of p. 279 blank. No mispaging. Lines 2, 4, 6, 8, 12 and 17 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown; maps do not.

Two frontispieces: (1) A globe with superscription "Orbis Patria," a bird in a circle of stars, and at top of page, "Planche du Titre;" (2) An Indian in an oval, with right foot on crown and scepter, and left foot on book. Oval is superscribed "Et leges et sceptra terit," and at top of page, "Planche du Titre."

At p. 1: Small map, "Carte generale de Canada a petit point," and a large folding map, "Carte que le Gnacsitares ont dessiné," etc.

At p. 34: "Canot des Iroquois décorce D'ormeau." Top canoe, one oarsman and 12 disembodied heads; middle canoe, 8 naked oarsmen.

At p. 46: "Campement de Mr. de La Barre."

At p. 72: "2 Raqvetes."

At p. 85: Hunting scene, "Sauvage tuant des martes ou des Chats Sauvages," etc.

At p. 98: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under M. Denonville, "long castreau sur lequel 500 Iroquois estoint embusques."

At p. 116: "Lac des Hurons."

At p. 141: "Castor de 26 pouces de longueur entre teste et queue."

At p. 174: "Boeufs Sauvages." Shows crocodile in river.

At p. 211: Attack by English on Quebec in 1691, "Ataque de Quebec."

At p. 226: "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux, Anglois et François."

At p. 242: "Grande Baye de Plaisance."

At the end of the preface, the following note appears: "La Carte mise à la tête du premier Volume doit se raporter à la 16. Lettre du même Volume," p. 136.

Signatures. * in eleven, A-L (excepting J) in twelves, M in eight.

Copies. A, AHG, BHC, BM, EDG, JCB, NYHS, NYP, WLCL.

In Vol. 1 of one of the JCB copies are found six leaves, different paper, containing "L'Autheur, au Lecteur . . ." comprising a complaint and three pages of errata, dated at beginning of section, "A Londres, ce 26. Novembre V.[ieux] Stile." The presence of this address in a copy of the Angel edition indicates priority of that edition over the Ornament edition. Inasmuch as the errata are for the first two volumes only, it is probable that the *Suplément* or Vol. 3 was issued after Vols. 1 and 2. See also Sabin 38635, note.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande éten- | duë de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Moeurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages &c. | Avec un petit Dictionaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [Same cut as in first volume.] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M.DCCIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo | title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3-194; half title: "Petit | Dictionaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages," on p. [195]; p. [196] blank; "Petit Dictionaire," pp. 197-220; "Table des Matieres contenues dans les deux tomes," pp. (16). P. 219 mispaged 29. Lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 12 and 14 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown; map does not.

Two frontispieces exactly like those in Vol. 1 of this edition.

At p. 3: Large folding map, "Carte générale de Canada Dediée au Roy de Danemark."

At p. 95: "Village des Sauvages de Canada," and different types of Indians.

At p. 125: Sun worship.

At p. 133: "Ceremonie du Mariage."

At p. 148: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death.

At p. 155: "Etang a Castors trous a la glace."

At p. 160: "Chasses des Castors dont j'ay parlé en ma 16eme letre," Beaver hunt.

At p. 185: War instruments and practices.

At p. 187: "Calumet de paix qui est une grande pipe," etc.

At p. 189: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outaoas," etc. This plate is sometimes at p. 129. The location was evidently first engraved, "Tom. 2 pag. 129," and page number corrected to 189.

Also at p. 189: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outagamis," etc.

At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-I in twelves, K in ten.

Copies. A, AHG, BHC, BM, EDG, JCB, NYHS, NYP, WLCL.

Volume 3:

This volume was reissued, with new title pages, as both Vols. 3 of the 1704 French: Suite du Voyage and Dialogues issues. Evidently printed from the same type, as the same errors and irregularities appear in both. Same number of pages and same plates.

Suplément | aux Voyages | du | Baron de Lahontan, | Où l'on trouve des Dialogues curieux | entre | l'Auteur | et | Un Sauvage | De bon sens qui a voyagé. | L'on y voit aussi plusieurs Observations faites par le même | Auteur, dans ses Voyages en Portugal, en Espagne, | en Hollande, & en Dannemarck, &c. | Tome Troisième. | Avec Figures. | [Same cut as in Vols. 1 and 2] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchand Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCC.III. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (12); "Avis De l'Auteur, Au Lecteur," pp. (2); "Dialogues Ou Entretiens entre un Sauvages, Et le Baron de Lahontan," pp. 1-103; p. [104] blank; half title: "Voyages | Du | Baron de Lahontan | En | Portugal, | Et en | Danemarc," on p. [105]; p. [106] blank; "Voyages De Portugal, Et de Danemarc," pp. 107-222. P. 86 is mispaged 89. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. Each plate and map has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 1: Lahontan showing picture to Indians.

At p. 107: Folding map, "Royaume de Portugal Par N. de Fer."

At p. 118: View of Lisbon.

At p. 145: Folding map, "Le Danemark suivant les dernieres Relations Par N. de Fer."

At p. 149: View of Hambourg.

At p. 155: View of Copenhague.

Signatures. * in eight, A-I in twelves, K in three (some copies have a blank leaf to complete the last signature in four). Sigs. B_4 and E_5 (half title) not numbered.

Copies. AHG, BM, JCB, LP.

1703—French: Ornament edition

This is a different edition, a page-for-page reprint from an entirely different setting of type. The plates and maps are all entirely reëngraved from those in the Angel edition, and the plates are mostly in reverse.

Volume 1:

Nouveaux | Voyages | de | Mr. le Baron de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des differens | Peuples qui y habitent; la nature de leur | Gouvernement; leur Commerce, leurs Coû- | tumes, leurs Religion, & leur maniére de | faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commer- | ce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. |

Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Small ornament] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M.DCCIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (4); "Preface," pp. (7); "Table des Lettres du Tome I," pp. (11); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes qui se trouvent dans le premier tome," pp. 267-279; verso of p. 279 blank. Pages are mispaged as follows: 35, 34; 82, 84; 98, 78; 123, 133; 128, 126; 177, 176; 241, 242; 242, 142. Lines 2, 4, 6, 8-12 and 18 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval, with right foot on book, and left foot on crown and scepter.

At p. 9: Small map, "Carte Generale du Canada en petit Point."

At p. 14: "Profile de la Ville de Quebec." Attack of English on Quebec in 1691.

At p. 34: Iroquois canoes. In this plate, the oarsmen in the canoe in the center of plate have acquired shorts to cover their nakedness, but the twelve heads above the canoe at top remain disembodied.

At p. 47: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre."

At p. 72: "Raquettes."

At p. 85: Hunting scene.

At p. 98: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under M. Denonville.

At p. 116: "Lac des Hurons."

At p. 136: Folding map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont dessiné." Similar to map with same title in Vol. 1 of Angel edition, but much smaller.

At p. 141: "Castor de 26 pouces de longueur entre tête et queue."

At p. 155: "Lac des Outagamis, Chasses des Castors dont j'ay parlé en ma 16 lettre."

At p. 174: "Boeufs Sauvages," Buffaloes. Crocodile in river.

At p. 225: "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux, Anglois et François."

At p. 242: "Grande Baye de Plaisance."

Signatures. * in twelve, A-L (excepting J) in twelves, M in eight. Sig. I_5 is misprinted I_3.

Copies. AHG, B, BA, EDG, JCB, MHS.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite des Voyages | de | Mr. le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande | étenduë de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt | des François & des Anglois, leurs Com- | merces, leurs Navigations, les Moeurs & | les Coûtumes des Sauvages &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [Small ornament, different from that in Vol.

1] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCCIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3-194 (mispaged 164); half title: "Petit | Dictionaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages." on p. [195]; p. [196] blank; "Petit Dictionaire," pp. 197-220; "Table des Matieres contenues dans les deux tomes," pp. (17), verso of last leaf blank; one blank leaf to complete sig. K. Pages are mispaged as follows: 167, 761; 169, 269; 175, 375; 194, 164; 218, 418; 219, 26. Lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 13 and 15 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 5: Folding map, "Carte Generale de Canada." Similar to map with same title in Vol. 2 of Angel edition, but much smaller.

At p. 55: "Etang a Castor trous a la glace."

At p. 95: "Village des Sauvage de Canada," and different types of Indians. Similar to plate at p. 95, Vol. 2, Angel edition, but rearranged.

At p. 101: "Calumet de paix qui est une grande pipe," etc.

At p. 125: Sun worship.

At p. 130: "La Ceremonie du Mariage."

At p. 151: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death.

At p. 174: War instruments and practices.

At p. 189: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Arme des Outauas," etc.

At p. 190: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Arme des Outagamis," etc.

At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-K (excepting J) in twelves, the last leaf blank. F_3 is misprinted F_2, and in some copies D_3 is printed in small caps.

Copies. AHG, B, BA, EDG, JCB, MHS.

1703—French: Globe edition

The Globe edition was printed from the same type as the Ornament edition. It has the same broken letters, mispaging and signatures. The Ornament edition has fancy initial letters, head and tail pieces, while the Globe edition is simpler in this respect. The plates and maps are all the same, and in the same locations as in the Ornament edition, except as noted. They are all about the same size as in the Ornament edition, but have all been reëngraved in much improved style. The title pages of both volumes of this edition are printed entirely in black ink. In the Globe edition there are corrections in the locations on the maps, and some additions of locations.

Volume 1:

Nouveaux | Voyages | de | Mr le Baron de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une relation des differens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; | leur Commerce, leur Coutumes, leur

Reli- | gion, & leur maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Commer- | ce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Cut of a globe] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchands Libraire [*sic*] | [Line] | M. DCCIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; collation the same as Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown. The map, which is at p. 9 in Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition, is at p. 1 in this volume, and is so engraved. There are copies of this volume with an extra plate at p. 211. It is the same subject as the plate at p. 14, "Profil de la Ville de Quebec," but is not the same plate, neither is it exactly the same as similar plate at p. 14, Vol. 1, Ornament edition.

Signatures. Same as in Vol. 1, Ornament edition.

Copies. AHG, BA, BN, C, LLQ, LU, NYP.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite des Voyages | de Mr le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë de | Païs de ce Continent, interêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, les | Moeurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [Cut of a globe] | A La Haye, | Chez les Fréres l'Honoré, Marchand [*sic*] Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCCIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; collation the same as Vol. 2, Ornament edition.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown. The plate at p. 55, Vol. 2, Ornament edition, "Etang a Castor trous a la glace," is at p. 155 in this edition, and is so engraved. The plate at p. 167 (mispaged 761), is the plate, "Lac des Outagamis," that is at p. 155, *Vol. 1*, of the Ornament edition. It is engraved "Tom. 2 Pag. 167." The plate at p. 174, Vol. 2, Ornament edition, war instruments and practices, is at p. 185 in this edition.

Signatures. Same as in Vol. 2, Ornament edition, except that no copy checked has D_3 printed in small caps.

Copies. AHG, BA, BN, C, LLQ, LU, NYP.

1703—English

Volume 1:

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the several Nations of that vast Con- | tinent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of | Navigation upon the Lakes and Rivers; the seve- | ral Attempts of the English and French to dispossess | one another; with the Reasons of the Miscarriage | of the former; and the various Adventures be- | tween the French, and the Iroquese Confederates of | England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a Natu- | ral History of the Country, with Remarks

upon | their Government, and the Interest of the English | and French in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the | Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange | Opinions of those People: With an Account of the Au- | thors Retreat to Portugal and Denmark and his Remarks | on those Courts. | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is generally | spoke in North-America. | [Line] | Illustrated with Twenty Three Maps and Cutts. | [Line] | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lievtenant | of the French Colony at Placentia in New- | foundland, now in England. | [Line] | Done into English. | [Line] | In Two Volumes. | A great part of which never Printed in the Original. | [Line] | London: Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul's Church-yard; | T. Goodwin, M. Wotton, B. Tooke, in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship | in Cornhil, 1703. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "To His Grace William Duke of Devonshire," pp. (2); "The Preface," pp. (8); "The Contents," pp. (12); "Some New Voyages," pp. 1-202; "Memoires of North-America," pp. 203-274; "A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes," pp. 275-280. No mispaging. The "Table" ends in the midst of the letter "T" on p. 280, and there is a superfluous catchword "THE" at the foot of the page.

Plates. The plates in this edition are based on those in the Angel edition. They are again reëngraved, but not in reverse as in the Ornament and Globe editions. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Facing title page: A small, full-page map of Canada with no title, but it is similar to folding map at p. 1, Vol. 1, French Globe edition, "Carte Generale du Canada." It is reëngraved and improved, and some larger.

Facing p. [1] of dedication, "To His Grace William, Duke of Devonshire": a folding map, "A general map of New France com̃, call'd Canada." It is similar to the folding map at p. 5, Vol. 2, Globe edition, "Carte Generale de Canada." It is about the same size, but reëngraved and improved.

At p. 1: A folding map, "A map of Long River and of some others that fall into that small part of ye Great River of Mississippi which is here laid down." It is similar to the folding map at p. 136, Vol. 1, Globe edition, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont dessiné," etc., but reëngraved, rearranged and improved.

At p. 26: Iroquois canoes. In this plate, the twelve disembodied heads above the canoe at the top have been given bodies, so the oarsman now has quite a load. The eight men in the center canoe have discarded their shorts, and are again naked.

At p. 43: "Mr. de la Barre's camp." Grangula's retinue at bottom are sitting "squat upon their tails." Similar to plate at p. 46, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 55: "2 Rackets."

At p. 65: Hunting scene.

At p. 75: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under Denonville.

At p. 89: "Lake of Hurons."

At p. 106: "A beaver 26 inches long from the head to the tail," and Buffaloes

(Wild Beeves). This is a combination of two plates in Vol. 1, Angel edition, at pp. 141 and 174.

At p. 160: "The attack of Quebec."

At p. 184: "The Great bay of Placentia."

At p. 225: A folding map of Newfoundland. Added in this edition. Not in Angel, Ornament or Globe editions.

The plate facing p. 226, Vol. 1, Angel edition, "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux, Anglaïs et François," is omitted from this English edition, probably for political reasons.

Signatures. A in eight, a in four, B-S (excepting J) in eights, T in four.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BM, BHC, EDG, HC, JCB, MHS, NYP, WHS, WLCL.

The following extract from the preface of this volume is worthy of notice here:

While my Book was a Printing in Holland, I was in England; and as soon as it appear'd, several English Gentlemen of a distinguishing Merit, who understand the French as well as their Mother Tongue, gave me to know, that they would be glad to see a more ample Relation of the Manners and Customs of the People of that Continent, whom we call by the name of Savages. This oblig'd me to communicate to these Gentlemen, the substance of the several Conferences I had in that Country with a certain Huron, whom the French call Rat. While I stay'd at that American's Village, I imploy'd my time very agreeably in making a careful Collection of all his Arguments and Opinions; and as soon as I return'd from my Voyage upon the Lakes of Canada, I shew'd my Manuscript to Count Frontenac, who was so pleas'd with it, that he took the pains to assist me in digesting the Dialogues, and bringing them into the order they now appear in: For before that, they were abrupt Conferences without Connexion. Upon the Solicitation of these English Gentlemen, I've put these Dialogues into the hands of the Person who translated my Letters and Memoirs: And if it had not been for their pressing Instances, they had never seen the light; for there are but few in the World that will judge impartially, and without prepossession, of some things contain'd in 'em.

I have likewise intrusted the same Translator with some Remarks that I made in Portugal, and Denmark, when I fled thither from Newfound-Land. There the Reader will meet with a description of Lisbon and Copenhagen, and of the capital City of Arragon.

To the Translation of my first Volume, I have added an exact Map of Newfound-Land, which was not in the Original. I have likewise corrected almost all the Cuts of the Holland Impression, for the Dutch Gravers had murder'd 'em, by not understanding their Explications, which were all in French. They have grav'd Women for Men, and Men for Women; naked Persons for those that are cloath'd, and è Contra. As for the Maps, the Reader will find 'em very exact; And I have taken care to have the Tracts of my Voyages more nicely delineated, than in the Original.

Volume 2:

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Giving a full Account of the Customs, | Commerce, Religion, and strange O- | pinions of the Savages of that Country. | With | Political Remarks upon the Courts | of Portugal and Denmark, and the

Present | State of the Commerce of those Countries. | [Line] | Never Printed before. | [Line] | Written | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord | Lieutenant of the French Colony at | Placentia in Newfoundland: Now in | England. | [Line] | Vol. II. | [Line] | London: | Printed for H. Bonwicke in St. Paul's Churchyard; T. Goodwin, | M. Wotton, B. Tooke in Fleetstreet; and S. Manship in Cornhil, | 1703. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "A Discourse," pp. 1-89; "A Conference or Dialogue," pp. 90-183; p. [184] blank; "An Appendix, Containing Some New Voyages to Portugal and Denmark," pp. 185-286; "A Short Dictionary Of the most Universal Language of the Savages," pp. 287-302; leaf, obverse, "Books lately printed, &c," reverse blank (this leaf follows p. 280 of Vol. 1, in some copies); "The Index," pp. (13); one blank page. The second figure of the paging of p. 43 is inverted, and p. 279 is mispaged 276. Sets of this edition are usually very much mixed up in the arrangement of the preliminary and end leaves, and the majority of copies examined lacked the frontispiece to the second volume.

Plates. The plates in this edition are based on those in the Angel edition. They are again reëngraved, but not in reverse as in the Ornament and Globe editions. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece containing an Indian within an oval, with left foot on crown and scepter, and right foot on book, having the superscription "Et Leges et Sceptra terit." A good many copies lack this frontispiece, which seems to indicate that this volume was published both with and without it. A comparison of this frontispiece in copies containing it, with the frontispiece in volume 2 of the 1735 English: J. Walthoe, edition, discloses that, while they are exactly the same dimensions, and apparently printed from the same plate, they are on different paper. The chain lines in the paper in the 1703 English are 2.5 cm. apart, while in the 1735 English: J. Walthoe, they are 2.8 cm. apart, and the wire lines are further apart than in the 1703 edition.

At p. 5: "A village of the Savages of Canada," and different types of Indians.

At p. 29: Sun worship.

At p. 36: "The Ceremony of Marriage."

At p. 51: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death.

At p. 59: "A beaver pool."

At p. 59, also: "The Beaver hunting spoken of in ye 16 letter."

At p. 80: War instruments and practices.

At p. 82: "The Calumet of peace being a great pipe &c."

At p. 84: Insignia of eight Indian tribes. This is a consolidation of plates at pp. 129 and 189, Vol. 2, Angel edition.

At p. 86: Explication of hieroglyphics.

Signatures. Title page, Aa-Tt (excepting Jj) in eights, Vv in seven.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BM, BHC, EDG, HC, JCB, MHS, NYP, WHS, WLCL.

1704—French

Volume 1:

This volume is reset in larger type than used in Angel, Ornament or Globe editions.

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Mr le Baron | de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale. | Qui contiennent une relations des differens Peu- | ples qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouver- | nement, leur Commerce, leur Coûtume, leur | Religion, & leur maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Small ornament] | A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M.DCCIV. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (2); "Preface," pp. (5); "Table des Lettres du I. Tome," pp. (9); "Voyages," pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 267-280. In some copies, p. 82 is mispaged 84. The title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: An Indian in an oval, with right foot on book and left foot on crown and scepter. Oval is superscribed, "Et Leges et Sceptra terit," and at top of page is engraved, "Planche du Titre."

At p. 1: A small map, "Carte Générale du Canada en petit point."

At p. 14: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec."

At p. 34: "Canot des Iroquois d'Ecorse d'Ormeau." Same plate as at p. 34, Vol. 1 of Ornament edition.

At p. 47: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre."

At p. 72: "Raquettes et Brayer."

At p. 85: "Sauvage tuant des Martres ou des Chats Sauvages," etc. Hunting scene.

At p. 98: "Village de Iroquois," etc. Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under M. Denonville.

At p. 116: "Lac des Hurons."

At p. 136: Folding map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont dessine." Same map as at p. 136, Vol. 1, Ornament edition.

At p. 141: "Castor de 26. pouces de longueur entre tête et queué.

At p. 174: "Boeufs Sauvages."

At p. 225: "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux Anglois et François."

At p. 242: "La Grande Baye de Plaisance."

Signatures. A-M (excepting J) in twelves, N in six (the last leaf blank). Sig. E_5 misprinted E_6.

Copies. A, AHG, CA, JCB, LP, WLCL.

Volume 2:

The type in this volume is the same as in Vol. 1.

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou | la Suite des Voyages | de | Mr le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une | grande étenduë de païs de ce Conti- | nent, l'interêt des François & des An- | glois, leurs Commerces, leurs Na- | vigations, les Moeurs & les Coûtu- | mes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Et augmenté dans ce second Tome de la ma- | niere dont les Sauvages se régalent. | [Small ornament, same as in Vol. 1] | A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCCIV. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires de l'Amerique Septentrionale," pp. 3-198; "Petit Dictionaire," pp. 199-222; "Table des Matieres," pp. (18). Pagination of p. 101 imperfectly printed 10; p. 220 mispaged 120. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 5: Folding map, "Carte Generale de Canada."

At p. 95: "Village des Sauvages de Canada."

At p. 98: "Village de Iroquois."

At p. 101: "Village des Sauvages," "Calumet de Paix," &c.

At p. 125: Sun worship.

At p. 130: "La Cérémonie du Mariage."

At p. 151: "Sauvages qui sortant de la Sucrie se sont jettés dans le Lac."

At p. 155: "Etang a Castor."

At p. 167: "Lac des Outagamis."

At p. 185: War instruments and practices.

At p. 189: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Arme des Outauas," etc.

At p. 190: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Arme des Outagamis," etc.

At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-K (excepting J) in twelves. Sig. K_4 misprinted K_3.

Copies. CA, JCB, LP, WLCL.

Volume 3: Suite du Voyage issue.

This volume is a reissue of the original sheets of Vol. 3 of the Angel edition, with a new title page. It has the same number of pages, the same plates in the same locations, and is evidently printed from the same type, as the same errors and irregularities appear in both.

Suite | Du | Voyage, | De l'Amerique, | Ou Dialogues | De Monsieur le | Baron de Lahontan | Et d'un | Sauvage, | Dans l'Amerique. Contenant une description | exacte des moeurs & des coutumes de ces | Peuples Sauvages. | Avec les Voyages du même en Portugal & en | Danemarc, dans lesquels on trouve des parti- | cularitez trés curieuses, & qu'on n'avoit | point encore remarquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | [Small scrolled ornament] | A Amsterdam, | [Line] | Chez la Veuve de Boeteman, | Et se vend | A Londres, chez

David Mortier, Li- | braire dans le Strand, à l'Enseigne d'Erasme. | M. DCCIV. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (12); "Avis De l'Auteur, Au Lectur." pp. (2); "Dialogues," pp. 1-103; p. [104] blank; half title: "Voyages | Du | Baron de Lahontan | En | Portugal, | Et en | Danemarc." on p. [105]; p. [106] blank; "Voyages de Portugal et de Danemarc," pp. 107-222. P. 86 is mispaged 89. Lines 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9 of title page and place of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 1: Lahontan showing picture to Indians.

At p. 107: Folding map of Portugal.

At p. 118: View of Lisbon.

At p. 145: Folding map of Denmark.

At p. 149: View of Hambourg.

At p. 155: View of Copenhague.

Signatures. * in eight, A-I in twelves, K in four (fourth leaf blank).

Copies. A, AHG, BHC, CA, JCB, LLQ, NYP.

Volume 3: Dialogues issue.

This volume is another reissue of the original sheets of Vol. 3 of the Angel edition, with another new title page, the third for the same text. It has the same number of pages, the same plates in the same locations, and is evidently printed from the same type, as the same errors and irregularities appear in both.

Dialogues | De Monsieur le | Baron de Lahontan | Et d'un | Sauvage, | Dans l'Amerique. | Contenant une description exacte des moeurs | & des coutumes de ces Peuples Sauvages. | Avec les Voyages du même en Portugal & en | Danemarc, dans lesquels on trouve des parti- | cularitez trés curieuses, & qu'on n'avoit | point encore remarquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | [Cut, a vase of flowers] | A Amsterdam, | [Line] | Chez la Veuve de Boeteman, | Et se vend | A Londres, chez David Mortier, Li- | braire dans le Strand, à l'Enseigne d'Erasme. | M. DCCIV. |

Collation. This is a separate issue of the *Suite Du Voyage* of this year, which as already shown *in loco* is merely the sheets of the 1703 original with a new title page. Lines 1, 3 and 5 of title page and place of imprint printed in red.

Copies. A, AHG, BHC, BM, BN, C, JCB, NYP, WLCL.

In connection with the dialogues in the last two volumes above, Sabin says that the traits of the savages are doubtless fairly illustrated, but the work was used by the author as a medium to proclaim his deistical theories, and is of no historical importance. See *Hist. Mag.*, I, 280; II, 208.

1705—French: Jonas l'Honoré

Volumes 1 and 2 of this edition are the same as Vols. 1 and 2 of the François l'Honoré edition of the same year excepting title pages, and the plate at p. 1, Vol. 1 of this edition.

Volume 2 of this edition includes also the dialogues which, in previous editions, were contained in a third volume, but omits, however, the section on Lahontan's European travels, which had been contained in Vol. 3 of previous editions.

Volume 1:

Voyages | du Baron | de La Hontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des différens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur | Commerce, leur Coûtumes, leur Religion, & | leur maniére de faire la Guerre: | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [Cut, with emblematic scene, globe, pillar and figures] | A La Haye, | Chez Jonas l'Honoré, & Compagnie. | [Line] | MDCCV. |

Collation. Small 12mo; engraved frontispiece, with title: "Nouveaux | Voyages | du Barron | de Lahontan;" printed title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (8); "Table des Lettres du Tome Premier," pp. (8); "Voyages" or text, pp. [1]-364; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 365-376. No mispaging. Lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 11-14, and 16 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red. In some copies, and probably all, the paper of signatures N-P (pp. 289-360) has turned quite brown.

Plates. The map and plates are the same as in Vol. 1 of the 1703 Angel edition, but not in the same locations. The plates have evidently been reworked to some extent. They are the same as in the 1705 Amsterdam: François l'Honoré edition. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 1: A globe with superscription "Orbis Patria," and a bird in a circle of stars. This is the same plate that appears as the first frontispiece of Vol. 1 of the 1703 Angel edition, except at top of page is "Tome 1. Page 1." instead of "Planche du Titre."

At p. 1, also: Folded map, "Carte que le Gnacsitares ont dessiné." Same as map at p. 1, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 38: "Canot des Iroquis décorce D'ormeau." This is the same plate that is at p. 34, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 53: "Campement de Mr. de La Barre." Same as plate at p. 46, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 82: "2 Raqvettes." Same as plate at p. 72, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 91: Hunting scene, "Sauvage truant des martres ou des Chats sauvages." Same as plate at p. 85, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 118: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under M. Denonville. "Long castreau sur lequel 500 Iroquois estroint ambusques." Same as plate at p. 98, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 127: "Lac des Hurons." Same as plate at p. 116, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 174: "Castor de 26 pouces de longueur entre teste et quéque." Same as plate at p. 141, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 244: Buffaloes, "Boeufs Sauvages." Shows crocodile in river. Same as plate at p. 174, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 303: "Ataque de Quebec." Same as plate at p. 211, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 324: "Combat entre deux vaisseaux Anglois et François." Same plate as at p. 226, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 340: "Grande Baye de Plaisance." Same as plate at p. 242, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

Signatures. * in ten (frontispiece is first leaf), A-P (excepting J) in twelves, Q in eight.

Copies. AHG, BHC, JCB, NYHS, NYP, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de LaHontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Moeurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmentée des Conversations de | l'Auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. | [Same cut as in first volume] | A Amsterdam, | Pour Jonas l'Honoré à la Haye. | [Line] | M DCC V. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 5-196; "Conversations de l'Auteur de ces Voyages avec Adario," pp. 197-310; half title: "Dictionaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages," on p. [311]; p. [312] blank; "Dictionaire," pp. 313-336; "Table Des Matieres principals contenues dans ce II Volume," pp. (2). No mispaging. Lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 12 and 14 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown. In this volume, the locations of all but the two maps and one plate are the same as in Vol. 2, Angel edition. The plates have evidently been reworked to some extent.

Frontispiece: Small map, "Carte Generale de Canada a petit point," same as map at p. 1, Vol. 1, Angel edition.

At p. 5: Large folding map, "Carte Generale de Canada Dediée au Roy de Danemark." It is engraved in upper right hand corner, "Tom. 2 Pag: 1." There is no page 1 in this volume. In some copies, this map is at p. 5, in others at p. 24. Same map at p. 3, Vol. 2, Angel edition, but it has no location engraved on it.

At p. 95: "Village des Sauvages de Canada," and different types of Indians.

At p. 104: Indian in oval, with right foot on crown and scepter and left foot on book. Oval is superscribed, "Et Leges et Sceptra Terit." This is the same plate that appears as the second frontispiece, Vol. 2, Angel edition, except

"Planche du Titre" does not appear at top of page. In its place is engraved, "Tome 2 Page 104."

At p. 125: Sun worship.

At p. 133: "Ceremonie du Mariage."

At p. 148: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death.

At p. 155: "Etang a Castors trous a la glace."

At p. 160: "Chasses des Castors dont j'ay parlé en ma 16eme letre," beaver hunt.

At p. 185: War instruments and practices.

At p. 187: "Calumet de paix qui est une grande pipe," &c.

At p. 189: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outaous," etc. This plate is sometimes at p. 129. The location was evidently first engraved, "Tom. 2 pag. 129," and page number corrected to 189.

At p. 189, also: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outagamis," etc.

At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-O (excepting J) in twelves, P in one. The first leaf of sig. A is the blank leaf to which the map is attached, and the second leaf is the title page.

Copies. AHG, JCB, NYP, WLCL.

1705—French: François l'Honoré

Vols. 1 and 2 of this edition are the same as Vols. 1 and 2 of the Jonas l'Honoré edition of 1705, excepting the title pages.

Volume 2 of this edition includes also the dialogues which, in previous editions, were contained in a third volume, but omits, however, the section on Lahontan's European travels, which had been contained in Vol. 3 of previous editions.

Volume 1:

Voyages | du Baron | de LaHontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des différens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur | Commerce, leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & | leur maniere de faire la Guerre: | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuê, corrigée, & augmentée. | [Cut, with emblematic scene, globe, pillar and figures] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré, vis-à-vis la Bourse. | [Line] | M D CC V. |

Collation. Small 12mo; engraved frontispiece, with title: "Nouveaux | Voyages | du Barron | de Lahontan"; printed title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (8); "Table des Lettres du Tome Premier," pp. (8); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-364; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 365-376. No mispaging. Lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 11-14, and 16 and place and date of imprint printed in red. The paper

of signatures N-P (pp. 289-360) is browned, as in Vol. 1 of the 1705—French: Jonas l'Honoré edition.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown. The map and plates are the same as in Vol. 1 of the 1705—French: Jonas l'Honoré edition.

At p. 1: Plate with a globe with superscription "Orbis Patria," and a bird in a circle of stars. This is the same plate that appears at p. 1, Vol. 1 of 1705—French: Jonas l'Honoré.

At p. 1, also: Folded map, "Carte que le Gnacsitares ont dessiné."

At p. 38: "Canot des Iroquois décorce D'ormeau."

At p. 53: "Campement de Mr. de La Barre."

At p. 82: "2 Raquettes."

At p. 91: Hunting scene, "Sauvage truant des martres ou des Chats sauvages."

At p. 118: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under M. Denonville. "Long castreau sur lequel 500 Iroquois estoint embusques."

At p. 127: "Lac des Hurons."

At p. 174: "Castor de 26 pouces le longueur entre teste et quéue."

At p. 244: Buffaloes, "Boeufs Sauvages." Shows crocodile in river.

At p. 303: "Ataque de Quebec."

At p. 324: "Combat entre deux vaisseaux Anglois et François."

At p. 340: "Grande Baye de Plaisance."

Signatures. * in ten (frontispiece is first leaf), A-P (excepting J), in twelves, Q in eight.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BHC, BM, BN, C, HC, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de LaHontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Moeurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmentée des Conversations de | l'Auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. | [Same cut as in first volume] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré & Compagnie. | [Line] | M DCC V. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 5-196; "Conversations de l'Auteur de ces Voyages avec Adario," pp. 197-310; half title: "Dictionaire | de la Langue | des Sauvages," on p. 311; p. 312 blank; "Dictionaire," pp. 313-336; "Table Des Matieres principales contenues dans ce II Volume," pp. (2). No mispaging. Lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 12 and 14 and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown. The maps and plates are the same as in Vol. 2 of the 1705—French: Jonas l'Honoré edition.

Frontispiece: Small map, "Carte Generale de Canada a petit point."

At p. 5: Large folding map, "Carte Generale de Canada Dediée au Roy de

Danemark." It is engraved in upper right hand corner, "Tom. 2 Pag: 1." but is variously placed. There is no page 1 in this volume.

At p. 95: "Village des Sauvages de Canada," and different types of Indians.

At p. 104: Indian in oval, same as in Vol. 2 of the 1705—French: Jonas l'Honoré edition.

At p. 125: Sun worship.

At p. 133: "Cérémonie du Mariage."

At p. 148: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death.

At p. 155: "Etang a Castors trous a la glace."

At p. 160: "Chasses des Castors dont j'ay parlé en ma 16eme letre." Beaver hunt.

At p. 185: War instruments and practices.

At p. 187: "Calumet de paix qui est une grande pipe," &c.

At p. 189: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outaous," etc. This plate is sometimes at p. 129. The location was evidently first engraved, "Tom. 2 pag. 129," and the page number corrected to 189.

At p. 189, also: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outagamis," etc.

At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-O (excepting J) in twelves, P in one. The first leaf of sig. A is the blank leaf to which the map is attached, and the second leaf is the title page.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BHC, BM, BN, C, HC, WLCL.

1705—English: Extract (Paltsits' description)

A voyage to North America. Or a Geographical Description of Canada. By the Baron LaHontan, Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia in Newfoundland.

The above title is the heading of chap. XVI of the original folio edition of John Harris's *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca: Or, a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels:* . . . Volume II. (London: Printed for Thomas Bennet . . . MDCCV).

The complete extract from Lahontan is embraced by Harris's chapters XVI-XXVI, or pp. 915-928.

The revised editions of Harris (edited by J. Campbell), published in 1744-1748 and 1764, do not contain these excerpts.

1706—French

This edition is merely a reissue from the same sheets of the two 1705 editions of Jonas and François l'Honoré. In Vol. 1, the paper of signatures N-P is browned as in the first volume of those editions. Vol. 1 of this edition contains the plate at p. 1 that appears in the same location in Vol. 1 of the Jonas l'Honoré edition, but not in Vol. 1 of the François l'Honoré edition.

Volume 1:

Voyages | du Baron | de LaHontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des differens Peuples | qui y habitent; la nature de leur Gouvernement; leur | Commerce, leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion; & | leur maniere de faire la Guerre: | L'Interêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'avantage que | l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce Païs, étant | en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigé, & augmentée. | [Cut of three cherubs] | A La Haye, | Chez Charles Delo, sur le Singel. | [Line] | MDCCVI. |

Collation, maps, plates and signatures same as Vol. 1 of the 1705: Jonas l'Honoré edition.

Copies. A, BA, BHC, CA, JCB, NYP, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de LaHontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce continent, l'interêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Moeurs & les Coutumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmentée des Conversations | de l'Auteur avec un Sauvage distingué. | [Cut of two cherubs bearing the host] | A La Haye, | Chez Charles Delo, sur le Singel. | [Line] | MDCCVI. |

Collation, maps, plates and signatures same as Vol. 2 of the 1705: Jonas l'Honoré edition.

Copies. A, BA, BHC, CA, JCB, NYP, WLCL.

1707—French—Vol. 1

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffe- | rens Peuples qui y habitent, la nature | de leur Gouvernement, leur Commerce, | leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & leur | maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'interêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; | l'avantage que la France, peut retirer dans ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec l'Angleterre. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Floral cut] | A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | [Line] | M. DCCVII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (4); "Preface," pp. (6); "Table des Lettres du tome I," pp. (6); "Voyages," pp. 1-342; "Explication de quelques Termes qui se trovent dans le premier Tome," pp. 343-354; "Table des Matieres contenues dans le premier Tome," pp. (12). Pages are mispaged as follows: 22, 72; 190, 192; 191, 193; 193, 195; 218, 118; 282, 284; and 283, 285. In some copies p. 316 is mispaged 326. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. This volume contains the same number of plates, and the same subjects, as Vol. 1 of the 1703 Angel edition, except the plate at p. 225 of that edition, "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux." They are all reëngraved, and all the plates are reversed, except the plate at p. 192, in which the beaver faces the same way as in the Angel edition. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval, with right foot on book, and left foot on crown and scepter. Oval is superscribed, "Et Leges et Sceptra Territ." Above the oval, in a framed, white space within the borders of the engraving, are the words, "Planche du Titre." In the Angel edition, these words are above the engraving. This plate is not the same as those in previous editions. It is reëngraved and is in reverse of the similar plate in the Angel edition, as is the similar plate in Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 12: folding map, "Carte Generale du Canada en petit Point." It is the same map as in previous editions, but is reëngraved and improved.

At p. 47: Iroquois canoes. Similar plate at p. 34, Vol. 1 of Ornament edition.

At p. 63: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre." Similar plate at p. 47, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 101: "IIe Raquettes." Similar plate at p. 72, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 119: Hunting scene. Similar plate at p. 85, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 138: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under Mr. Denonville. Similar plate at p. 98, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 161: "Lac des Hurons." Similar plate at p. 116, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 184: Folding map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont dessiné," etc. Similar map at p. 136, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 190: "Castor de 26 pouces de longueur entre tête et queue." Similar plate at p. 141, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition, but much smaller and beaver heads to left as in Vol. 1 of the Angel edition.

At p. 207: "Lac des Outagamis, chasses de Castor dont j'ay parlé en ma 16 lettre." Peaver hunt. Similar plate at p. 155, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 231: "Boeufs Sauvages." Buffaloes. Similar plate at p. 174, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 273: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec." Similar plate at p. 14, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 313: "la Grande Bay de Plaisance." Similar plate at p. 242, Vol. 1 of the Ornament edition.

Signatures. Title page, leaf, a in eight; A and B in sixes; b in twelve; C-P (excepting J) in twelves; Q in four (last leaf blank). F_5 printed F_v; I_4 printed Iiiij; I_5 printed I_v.

Copies. A, AHG, C, JCB.

1708—French—Vol. 2

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite des Voyages | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan, | qui contiennent | La Description d'une grande étenduë de | Païs de ce Continent, l'interêt des | François & des Anglois, leurs Com- | merces, leurs Navigations, les Moeurs | & les Coutumes des Sauvages &c. | Avec un Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [Cut, a pot of flowers] | A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | [Line] | M.DCCVIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1-215; p. [216] blank; Petit Dictionaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 217-239; verso of p. 239 blank. Pages are mispaged as follows: 31, 3i; 38, 36; 39, 37; 40, 38; 44, 48; 105, 89; 116, 115; 150, 250; 160, 60. In some copies, p. 231 is mispaged 23. The title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown. The plates at pp. 189 and 190 of Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition, insignia of four Indian tribes, are not present in this edition.

At p. 3: Folding map, "Carte Generale de Canada." Similar map at p. 5, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 97: "Village des Sauvages de Canada," and different types of Indians. Similar plate at p. 95, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 104: "Calumet de paix qui est une grande pipe," etc. Similar plate at p. 101, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 132: Sun worship. Similar plate at p. 125, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 136: "La Ceremonie du Mariage." Similar plate at p. 130, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 155: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death. Similar plate at p. 151, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 166: "Etang à Castor trous a la glace." Similar plate at p. 55, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 200: War instruments and practices. Similar plate at p. 174, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

At p. 211: Explication des Hiéroglyphes. Similar plate at p. 191, Vol. 2 of the Ornament edition.

Signatures. Title page in one leaf; A-K (excepting J) in twelves. Sig. A_3 is printed A_{iij}; C_5 printed C_v; E_5 printed E_v; and K_2 printed K_{ij}.

Copies. A, AHG, C.

1708—French—Vol. 3

Dialogues | de Monsieur | le Baron de Lahontan, | et d'un | Sauvage, | dans l'Amerique. | Contenant | Une description exacte des moeurs | & des coutumes de ces Peuples | Sauvages. | Avec les Voyages du même en Portugal | & en Danemarc, dans lesquels on | trouve des particularitez très-curieuses, | & qu'on

n'a point encore remarquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Troisieme. | [Same floral cut as in Vol. 1] | A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | [Line] | M.DCCVIII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Preface," pp. (13); "Avis de l'Auteur au Lecteur," pp. (3); "Dialogues," pp. 1-174; one blank leaf for pp. [175] and [176]; half title: "Voyages | de | Portugal | et de | Danemarc," on p. [177]; p. [178] blank; "Voyages," pp. 179-374. Pages are mispaged as follows: 265, 269; 268, 272; 269, 273; 272, 276; 273, 277; 276, 280; 277, 281; 280, 284; 281, 285; 284, 288; 285, 289; and 288, 290. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. One folding plate at p. 1 of Lahontan showing a picture to Indians. The copy in the Library of Congress and my own copy have only this one plate, and another copy was listed in Goodspeed's catalogue No. 418, which contained only the one plate referred to. (Location of that copy not known.)

Paltsits thought that the Library of Congress copy lacked three plates and two maps, probably because these appeared in the 1703 and 1704 editions, but it is apparent that this volume was published with the one plate only.

Signatures. a in five, b in four, A-P (excepting J) in twelves, Q in eight (last leaf blank). Sig. H_4 is a blank leaf.

Copies. AHG, C.

1709—French

Volumes 1 and 2 of this edition are practically the same as Vols. 1 and 2 of the 1704 French edition. Both editions were published by Chez les Frères l'Honoré, à la Haye, and sometimes one volume of 1709 was bound with the other volume dated 1704. Both editions are obviously printed from the same type. Some of the same errors appear in both. In the 1709 edition there were slight changes in the text, somewhat larger type was used for chapter headings, and there was some rearrangement of the ornamentation. Both contain the same number of pages in each volume, and the same plates. There was no Vol. 3 published in 1709, as there was in 1704.

Volume 1:

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Mr le Baron | de Lahontan, | dans | L'Amerique | Septentrionale. | Qui contiennent une relation des differens Peu- | ples qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouver- | nement, leur Commerce, leur Coûtume, leur | Religion, & leur maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'interêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans | ce Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Small ornament] | A la Haye, | Chez les Freres L honoré, Marchands | Libraires. | [Line] | M.DCCIX. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majeste Frederic IV," pp. (3);

"Preface," pp. (5); "Table des Lettres du I. Tome," pp. (8); "Voyages," pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 267-280. Pp. 229 and 274 are mispaged 129 and 174, respectively. Title page printed entirely in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval. Same as frontispiece in Vol. 1 of 1707 French edition, excepting that the words "Planche du Titre," at top of engraving are not in a framed white space.

At p. 1: Small map, "Carte Générale du Canada en petit point."

At p. 14: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec."

At p. 34: "Canot des Iroquois d'Ecorce d'Ormeau." Twelve disembodied heads over the canoe at top, and shorts on the eight oarsmen in the middle canoe.

At p. 47: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre."

At p. 72: "Raquette et Brayer."

At p. 85: "Sauvage tuant des Martres ou des Chats Sauvages."

At p. 98: Village de Iroquois.

At p. 116: "Lac des Hurons."

At p. 136: Folding map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont dessine."

At p. 142: "Castor de 26. pouces de longueur entre tête et queue."

At p. 174: "Boeufs Sauvages."

At p. 225: "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux Anglois et François."

At p. 242: Le Grande Baye de Plaisance.

Signatures. A-M (excepting J) in twelves, N in six (the last leaf blank).

Copies. A, AHG, HC, JCB, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | L'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou | La Suite des Voyages | de | Mr. Le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contiennent la Description d'une | grande étenduë de païs de ce Con- | tinent, l'interêt des François & des | Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs | Navigations, les Moeurs & les Coû- | tumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Et augmenté dans ce second Tome de la ma- | niere dont les Sauvages se régalent. | [Small ornament as in Vol. 1] | A la Haye, | Chez les freres L honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCCIX. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 3-198; "Petit Dictionaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 199-222; "Table des Matieres contenues dans les deux Tomes," pp. (18). Pages 200 and 220 mispaged 220 and 120, respectively. Title page printed entirely in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 5: Folding map, "Carte generale de Canada."

At p. 95: Village des Sauvages de Canada.

At p. 101: "Calumet de Paix qui est une grande Pipe," etc.

At p. 125: "Soleil de Midi."

At p. 130: "La Cérémonie du Mariage."

At p. 151: "Sauvages qui sortant de la Sucrie se sont jettés dans le Lac."
At p. 155: "Sauvage luant un Castor ance le fusil."
At p. 167: "Chasse des Castors dont j'ay parlé en ma 16 lettre."
At p. 185: "Arc; Massuë appellée casse tête."
At p. 189: Four insignia, "Arme des Hurons," etc.
At p. 190: Four insignia, "Arme des Outagamis appellées Renards, etc."
At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.
Signatures. A-K (excepting J) in twelves. Sig. K_4 misprinted K_3.
Copies. A, AHG, HC, JCB, WLCL.

1709—German: Abridgment

Des berühmten | Herrn | Baron De Lahontan | Neueste Reisen | Nach | Nord-Indien/ | Oder dem | Mitternächtischen America, | Mit vielen besondern und bey keinem Scribenten | befindlichen | Curiositaeten. | Aus dem Frantzösischen übersetzet | Von | M. Vischer. | [Long line] | Hamburg und Leipzig/ | Im Reumannischen Verlag/ MDCCIX. |

Collation. 12mo; double page title, with reverse blank; "Geneigter Leser!", signed by the translator and dated at "Hamburg d. 15. April: 1709," pp. (8); text with heading: "Des Herrn Baron de la Hontan Nord-Indien," pp. 1-252; half title of second part: "Der | Historischen | Nachrichten | Des | Herrn Baron de la | Hontan, | Von | Nord-Indien/ | Zweyter Theil," on p. 253; text of same, pp. 254-432; Anhang eines Wörter-Buchs von der Wilden Sprache," pp. 433-454; "Register," pp. 455-459; verso of p. 459 blank. Pages are mispaged as follows: 127, 107; 373, 343; 376, 347; 377, 358; 380, 339. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. No plates, but small folded map, "General Carte von Canada," precedes title page.

Signatures.)(in six (of which the folded title page is a part), a-t (excepting j) in twelves, u in two. The signature mark of b_6 is on the verso of that leaf, and that of d_4 is wanting.

Copies. BM, C, JCB, WLCL.

1710—Dutch: Extract

Van den oorspronk en de kracht | der | Vooroordeelen, | Door J.T. | Als mede een kort | Uyttreksel | Uyt de Aanteykeninge van de Baron de | Lahontan, | Rakende de Zeden, 't Geloof, en't verstant | van de Wilden tot Canada. | En de lof der hedendaagse Eeuw, in ver- | gelykinge van de voorgaande Eeuwen. | En dat 'er zoo veele Atheisten niet zyn, als | men doorgaans gelooft. | Door | J. de Klerk. | [Floral ornament] | Te Amsterdam, | By Jan Blom, Boekverkooper op de | Nieuwedyk, over de Gravestaat. 1710. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Den drukker aan den lezer." pp. [3-

4]; "Van den oorspronk en de Kracht der Vooroordeelen, Vervat in een Brief, aan zeker Engelsche Mylord, N. N.," pp. 5-14, signed J.T. and dated Octob. 20. 1702. p. 14; "Een kort Uyttreksel Uyt de Memoire de l'Amerique Septentrionale van Mr. Baron de Lahontan, Tome second," pp. 15-33; "Een kort extract Uyt de beschryvinge van't Eyland Formosa, Na de Aenteykeninge van de Heer George Pzalmanazar, Geboren op dat zelve Eyland. In't Fransch gedrukt by Roger, A° 1705," pp. 34-37; "De lof der hedendaagze Eeuw, in vergelykinge der voorgaande. Begrepen in een Voorreden. Van de Heer de Klerk, Welke in Fransch te zien is voor aan het zevende deel zijn'er Bibliotheque Choisie. A° 1705," pp. 38-52. No mispaging. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. No plates. Fruit ornament, p. 37; floral, p. 52.

Signatures. A-C in eights, D in two.

Copies. WLCL.

1711—German

Des berühmten | Herrn | Baron De Lahontan | Nueste Reisen | Nach | Nord-Indien/ | Oder dem | Mitternächtischen America | Mit vielen besondern und bey keinem Scribenten befindlichen | Curiositaeten. | Auch bey dieser andern Auflage mit | Seiner Reise nach Portugall/ Dennemarck und | Spanien/ vermehret. | Aus dem Frantzösischen übersetzet | Von | M. Vischer. | [Long line] | Hamburg und Leipzig/ | Im Reumannischen Verlag/ MDCCXI. |

Collation. 12mo; double title page, with reverse blank; "Vorrede. An den verständigen Leser," dated at end "Hamburg, d. 30. Novemb. 1710," pp. (19); one blank page; text headed: "Des Herrn Baron de la Hontan Nord-Indien." pp. 1-316; half title: "Der | Historischen | Nachrichten | Des | Herrn Baron de la | Hontan, | Von | Nord-Indien/ | Zweyter Theil," on p. [317]; text of same, pp. 318-563; "Anhang eines Wörter-Buchs von der Wilden Sprache," pp. 563-590; "Des Berühmten Herrn Baron de la Hontan Reise nach Portugall und Dennemarck," pp. 591-747; "Register," pp. 748-753; verso of p. 753 blank. Pages are mispaged as follows: 51, 24; 212, 112; 359, 395; 535, 536; and 657, 647. P. 317 is not numbered, and there is also an elision of pp. 254 and 255. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. No plates, but a folded map, "General—Carte von Canada," at p. 1.

Signatures.)(in twelve (of which the folded title page forms a part), A-Z (excepting J and V) in twelves, Aa-Hh in twelves, Ii in four. Signature mark R_4 is wanting. The translator calls this the "Zweiter Auflage" in German.

Copies. AHG, F, JCB.

1712—French

This edition is evidently a reprint of the 1707 Vol. 1 and the 1708 Vol. 2, published by Isaac Delorme. It has the same number of pages, the same mispaging, and the same maps and plates in the same locations.

Volume 1:

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Monsieur | Le Baron de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffe- | rens Peuples qui y habitent, la nature | de leur Gouvernement, leur Commerce, | leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & leur | maniere de faire la guerre. | L'interêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'a- | vantage que la France peut retirer dans ce | Païs, étant en guerre avec l'Angleterre. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Floral cut, same as in 1707 edition] | A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | [Line] | M.DCCXII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa majesté Frederic IV," pp. (4); "Preface," pp. (6); "Table des Lettres du Tome I," pp. (6); "Voyages," pp. 1-342; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 343-354; "Table des Matieres contenues dans le premier Tome," pp. (12). Pages are mispaged as follows: 22, 72; 190, 192; 191, 193; 193, 195; 218, 118; 282, 284; and 283, 285. Title page printed entirely in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: There is no frontispiece in the Ayer copy, which is rebound. In view of the fact that this volume is a reprint of Vol. 1 of the 1707 French edition, it should probably have the same frontispiece (Indian in oval) that appears in that volume.

At p. 12: Small map, "Carte Generale du Canada en petit point."

At p. 47: "Canot des Iroquois d'Ecorce d'Ormeau."

At p. 63: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre."

At p. 101: "Raquettes et Brayer."

At p. 119: Hunting scene.

At p. 138: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under Mr. Denonville.

At p. 161: "Lac des Hurons."

At p. 184: Folding map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont dessine."

At p. 190: "Castor de 26. pouce de longueur entre tête et queuë."

At p. 207: "Lac des Outagamis."

At p. 231: "Boeufs Sauvages."

At p. 273: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec."

At p. 313: "la Grande Bay de Plaisance."

Signatures. Title page, a in eight, A in six, B in six, b in twelve, C-P (excepting J) in twelves, Q in three (there was probably a blank leaf, making it a four). Sig. F_5 printed F_v, sig. I_4 printed I_{iiij}, sig. I_5 printed I_v.

Copies. Ayer only copy located.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | L'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ov | La Suite des Voyages | de Monsieur | Le Baron de Lahontan, | Qvi contiennent | La Description d'une

grande étenduë de | Païs de ce Continent, l'interêt des | François & des Anglois, leur Com- | merce, leurs Navigations, les Moeurs | & les Coûtumes des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | [Ornament very much smaller than in Vol. 1, and not the same as in Vol. 2, 1708] | A La Haye, | Chez Isaac Delorme, Libraire. | [Line] | M.DCCXII. |

Collation. Small 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1-215; p. 216 blank; "Petit Dictionaire des Sauvages," pp. 217-239; verso of p. 239 blank. Pages are mispaged as follows: 31, 3i; 38, 36; 39, 37; 40, 38; 44, 48; 105, 89; 116, 115; 150, 250; and 160, 60. Title page printed entirely in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 3: Folding map, "Carte generale de Canada."

At p. 97: "Village des Sauvages de Canada," and different types of Indians.

At p. 104: "Calumet de paix qui est une grande pipe," etc.

At p. 132: Sun worship. (At p. 128 in Ayer copy.)

At p. 136: "La Ceremonie du Mariage."

At p. 155: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death.

At p. 166: "Etang à Castor trous a la glace."

At p. 200: War instruments and practices.

At p. 211: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-K (excepting J) in twelves. Sig. A_3 printed A_{ij}, sig. C_5 printed C_v, sig. E_5 printed E_v, and sig. K_2 printed K_{ij}.

Copies. Ayer only copy located.

1715—French

Volume 1:

Nouveaux | Voyages | de Mr. le Baron | de Lahontan, | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale. | Qui contient une relation des differens Peuples | qui y habitent, la nature de leur Gouverne- | ment, leur Commerce, leur Coûtume, leur | Religion, & leur maniere de faire la Guerre. | L'interêt des François & des Anglois dans le Com- | merce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'avantage | que l'Angleterre peut retirer dans ce Païs, | étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | [Small ornament] | A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M.DCCXV. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "A sa Majesté Frederic IV," pp. (3); "Preface," pp. (5); "Table des Lettres du I tome," pp. (8); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-266; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 267-280. Pages are mispaged as follows: 32, 23; 130, 180; and 274, 174. Title page printed wholly in black.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval, with right foot on book.

At p. 1: Folded map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont Dessiné," etc.
At p. 9: Small map, "Carte generale du Canada en petit point."
At p. 14: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec."
At p. 34: "Canoe des Iroquois d'Ecorce d'Ormeau."
At p. 47: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre."
At p. 72: "Ye Raquettes."
At p. 98: Battle of French under Denonville with Indians.
At p. 116: "Lac des Hurons."
At p. 141: "Castor de 26. pouces de longueur entre tête et queue."
At p. 155: "Lac des Outagamis."
At p. 174: "Boeufs Sauvages."
At p. 225: "Combat entre deux Voisseaux Anglais et François."
At p. 242: "La Grand Baye de Plaisance."

Signatures. A-M (excepting J) in twelves, N in six (the last leaf blank). Sig. G_3 not numbered.

Copies. A, BHC, BN, HC, JCB, LU, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou | la Suite des Voyages | de | Mr le Baron de Lahontan. | Qui contient la Description d'une gran- | de étenduë de Païs de ce Continent, | l'interêt des François & des Anglois, | leurs Commerces, leurs Navigations, | les Moeurs & les Coûtumes des Sau- | Vages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionnaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Et augmenté dans se Second Tome de la maniere | dont les Sauvages se régalent. | [Same ornament as Vol. 1] | A La Haye, | Chez les Freres L Honoré, Marchands Libraires. | [Line] | M. DCCXV. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1[i.e., 3]-198; "Petit Dictionnaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 199-222; "Table des Matieres," pp. (18). Pages are mispaged as follows: 3, 1; 38, 3; 100, 1; 200, 220; and 220, 122.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown.

A large folded map, "Carte generale de Canada," without page location, is sometimes frontispiece, sometimes at p. 1.

At p. 55: "Etang a Castor."
At p. 95: "Village du Sauvages de Canada."
At p. 101: "Calumet de Paix," etc.
At p. 125: Sun worship.
At p. 130: "la Ceremonie du Mariage."
At p. 151: "Sauvages qui sortant de la Sucrie," etc.
At p. 174: War instruments and practices.
At p. 189: "Arme des Hurons," etc.
At p. 190: "Arme des Outagamis," etc.
At p. 191: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. A-K (excepting J) in twelves. Sigs. F_3 and K_4 misprinted F_5 and C_3, respectively.

Copies. A, BHC, BN, HC, JCB, LU, WLCL.

1723—Dutch: Extract

Den Oorspronk en de kracht | der | Vooroordeelen; | klaar vertoont in een brief door J.T. | Als mede | In de zeden, 't geloof, en 't verstant | der Wilden te | Kanada, | getrokken uit de Aantekeningen van | den Baron de | La Hontan. | Waar by gevoegt is | Den lof der hedensdaagsche Eeuw, in | vergelyking met de voorgaande Eeuwen. | Door | J. De Klerk. | [Floral ornament] | Gedrukt in 't Jaar 1723. |

Collation. Small 8vo; title, verso blank; "Den oorspronk en de kracht der Vooroordeelen," pp. 3-11; "Een kort Uyttreksel Uyt de Memoires de l'Amerique Septentrionale van Mr. le Baron de Lahontan, Tome Second," pp. 12-26; "Een kort Extract Uyt de beschryvinge van 't Eyland Formosa," pp. 27-29; "Den lof der hedendaagze Eeuw," etc., pp. 29-39; verso of p. 39 blank. No mispaging. Title printed wholly in black.

Signatures. A-B in eights, C in four.

Copies. JCB.

1728—French

Volume 1:

Voyages | du Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Rélation des différens | Peuples qui y habitent; la nature de leur | Gouvernement; leur Commerce, leurs | Coûtumes, leur Religion, & leur maniére | de faire la Guerre: | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations; l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Premier. | Seconde Edition, revuë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [Cut with two flower vases] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré, vis-à-vis de la Bourse. | [Line] | M. DCC. XXVIII. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Préface," pp. (8); "Table des Lettres du tome premier," pp. (8); "Voiages" or text, pp. 1-398; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 399-408. No mispaging. Lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 12-15, and 17 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval, with right foot on book.

At p. 17: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec."

At p. 40: "Canot de Iroquois d'Ecorse d'Ormeau."

At p. 56: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre."

At p. 90: "Ye Raquettes."

At p. 91: Four insignia, "Arme des Outagamis appellées Renards," etc.

At p. 97: Hunting scene.

At p. 105: Small map, "Carte generale du Canada en petit point."
At p. 129: Battle of French under Denonville with Indians.
At p. 136: "Lac des Hurons."
At p. 162: Folded map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont Dessiné," etc.
At p. 188: Castor.
At p. 216: "Boeufs Sauvages."
At p. 351: "Combat entre deux Vaisseaux Anglois et François."
At p. 358: "la Grande Baye de Plaisance."

Signatures. Title page, * in eight, A-R (excepting J) in twelves.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BA, BHC, BM, BN, C, HC, JCB, LLQ, LP, LU, NYP, WHS, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr. le | Baron de Lahontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande étenduë | de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des François | & des Anglois, leurs Commerces, leurs Naviga- | tions, les Moeurs & les Coûtumes des Sauvages, | &c. | Avec un petit Dictionaire de la Langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, augmentée de la maniére dont les | Sauvages se régalent. | [Cut with two flower vases] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré & Compagnie. | [Line] | M. DCC. XXVIII. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1-219; "Dictionaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 220-238. Pages 161 and 185 are mispaged 151 and 158, respectively. Lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 13 and 15 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown, except as noted. There are two plates in this volume incorrectly engraved, and variously placed, (1) "Lac des Outagamis," incorrectly engraved "Tom. 2 Pag. 358," and (2) Sun worship, incorrectly engraved "Tom. 2. Pag. 267."

At p. 5: Folded map, "Carte generale de Canada."
At p. 98: "Village des Sauvages de Canada."
At p. 109: "Calumet de Paix," etc.
At p. 142: "La Ceremonie du Mariage."
At p. 158: "Sauvages qui sortant de la Sucrie."
At p. 178: "Etang a Castor."
At p. 189: Four insignia, "Arme des Hurons," etc.
At p. 193: War instruments and practices.
At p. 209: Explication des Hiéroglyphes.

Signatures. Title page, A-L (excepting J) in twelves. Last leaf of sig. K blank. Sig. D_2 misprinted Dij, and K_2 is misprinted K.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BA, BHC, BM, BN, C, HC, JCB, LLQ, LP, LU, NYP, WHS, WLCL.

Volume 3:

Suite | du | Voyage | de l'Amerique | ou Dialogues | de Monsieur | le Baron

de Lahontan | et d'un | Sauvage, | de l'Amerique. | Contenant une description exacte des moeurs | & des coûtumes de ces Peuples Sauvages. | Avec les Voiages du même en Portugal & en Dane- | marc, dans lesquels on trouve des particularitez | très curieuses, & qu'on n'avoit point encore re- | marquées. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | [Small ornament] | A Amsterdam, | Chez le Veuve de Boeteman. | [Line] | M. DCC. XXVIII. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Préface," pp. (10); "Avis de l'Auteur au Lecteur," pp. (2); "Dialogues," pp. 15-128; "Voiages de Portugal et de Danemarc," pp. 129-257, with verso of p. 257 blank. Pages are mispaged as follows: 84, 48; 206, 106; 207, 107; and 209, 109. Lines 1, 3, 5, 7, 9 and 17 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red; in the Harvard and John Carter Brown copies, lines 11 and 12 of the title page are also printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

At p. 15: Folded plate, Lahontan showing picture to Indians.

At p. 129: Folded map, "Royaume de Portugal."

At p. 136: View of Lisbon.

At p. 171: Folded map, "Le Danemark."

At p. 176: View of Hambourg.

At p. 182: View of Copenhague.

Signatures. A-L (excepting J) in twelves, sig. L, verso of leaf 9 blank and three blank leaves.

Copies. A, AHG, B, BA, BHC, BM, BN, C, HC, JCB, LLQ, LP, LU, NYP, WHS, WLCL.

? 1731—French

Volumes 1 and 2:

Voyages du Baron de Lahontan.

In Charles Leclerc's *Bibliotheca Americana* (Paris, Maisonneuve & Cie, 1867), p. 193, item 825, the following description appears:

825.—Le même ouvrage. Amsterdam, Fr. L'Honoré, 1731, 2 vol. in—12, mar. chocolat, d.s.t.

Vol. i. 4 fnc., 188 pp. 2 fnc., front. gravé, 8 pl. et cartes.—Vol. ii. 2 fnc., 220 pp., 6 pl. et cartes.

"I believe no such edition exists, and that the date was mistaken for M. DCC. XXXXI, for the collation agrees with Vol. i and Vol. ii (called Suite) of the 1741 edition. This vagary has misled every bibliographer who has had recourse to Leclerc's title." [Paltsits.]

? 1731—French

Volumes 1 and 2:

Nouveaux Voyages *** dans l'Amerique Septentrionale ***.

La Haye, Chez les Frères l'Honoré. MDCCXXXI. 2 vols., 12mo, pp. (8), 188, (4); (4), 220. 14 Plates and Maps.

"This title appears in Joseph Sabin's *Dictionary of Books Relating to Ameri-*

ca, no. 38640. It is merely a repetition of Leclerc's erroneous title (q.v. preceding title), in which Sabin has rearranged the material of Leclerc and mistaken the 'Fr.' as 'Frères,' instead of 'François,' and changed the place of imprint to the common 'La Haye' of the earlier editions by 'les Frères l'Honoré.' I believe that no such edition exists. This vagary has misled every bibliographer who has had recourse to Sabin for this subject." [Paltsits.]

1735—English

The title pages of each of the three different Volumes 1 in English published in 1735 state: "Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts," whereas Vols. 1 and 2 of any of the issues contain only 20 maps and plates.

Volume 1: J. and J. Bonwicke, etc.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the several Nations of that vast Con- | tinent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Naviga- | tion upon the Lakes and Rivers; the several Attempts of | the English and French to dispossess one another; with the | Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former; and the various | Adventures between the French, and the Iroquese Confe- | derates of England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a | Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon their | Government, and the Interest of the English and French | in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the | Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange Opi- | nions of those People: With an Account of the Author's Retreat | to Portugal and Denmark, and his Remarks on those Courts. | [Line] | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is | generally spoke in North-America. | [Line] | Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts. | [Line] | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, | Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia | in Newfoundland, at that time in England. | [Line] | Done into English. The Second Edition. | [Line] | In Two Volumes. | A great Part of which never Printed in the Original. | [Line] | Vol. 1. | [Line] | London: | Printed for J. and J. Bonwicke, R. Wilkin, S. Birt, T. Ward, | E. Wicksteed; and J. Osborn. M, DCC, XXXV. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "To His Grace William Duke of Devonshire," pp. (2); "The Preface," pp. (8); "The Contents," pp. (12); "Some New Voyages," pp. [1]-202; "Memoires of North-America," pp. 203-274; "A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes," pp. 275-280. No mispaging.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Facing title page: A small, full-page map of Canada with no title.

At p. 1: Two large folded maps, marked *A* and *B*, as follows: "A General

Map of New France Com̃, call'd Canada," and "A Map of ye Long River," etc.

At p. 26: An Iroquois Canoe. The heads have bodies.

At p. 43: De la Barre's camp.

At p. 65: Hunting scene.

At p. 75: French under Denonville fight Indians.

At p. 89: Lake of Hurons.

At p. 106: Beaver and buffaloes. Crocodile in river.

At p. 225: Map of Newfoundland.

Signatures. A in eight, a in four, B-S (excepting J) in eights, T in four.

Copies. A (superb copy, all edges untrimmed), BA, C, WLCL.

Volume 1: Osborn issue.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the several Nations of that vast Con- | tinent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Naviga- | tion upon the Lakes and Rivers; the several Attempts of | the English and French to dispossess one another; with the | Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former; and the various | Adventures between the French, and the Iroquese Confe- | derates of England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a | Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon their | Government, and the Interest of the English and French | in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General of the | Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and strange Opi- | nions of those People: With an Account of the Author's Retreat | to Portugal and Denmark, and his Remarks on those Courts. | [Line] | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is | generally spoke in North-America. | [Line] | Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts. | [Line] | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, | Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia | in Newfoundland, at that Time in England. | [Line] | Done into English. The Second Edition. | [Line] | In Two Volumes. | A great Part of which never Printed in the Original. | [Line] | Vol. I. | [Line] | London: | Printed for J. Osborn, at the Golden-Ball, in Paternoster-Row. | M, DCC, XXXV. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "To His Grace William," pp. (2); "The Preface," pp. (8); "The Contents," pp. (12); "Some New Voyages to North-America," pp. [1]-202; "Memoires of North-America," pp. 203-274; "A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes," pp. 275-280. No mispaging.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown. The Paltsits bibliography calls for plates at pages 55, 160 and 184. Several copies inspected do not have plates at these pages, and this volume was evidently published without them. One of the New York Public Library copies contains them, the other does not. These three plates in the copy containing them are smaller than other plates in the same volume, and were probably inserted from the first edition of

1703. This conclusion is supported by a letter laid in one of the New York Public Library copies from Henry Stevens Son & Stiles to F. P. Harper, Dec. 8, 1905, which maintains that the 1735 edition should have 20 plates only in the two volumes. The maps and plates are the same as those in Vol. 1 of the English edition of 1703, evidently printed from the same plates, and are in the same locations, except as noted.

Facing title page: A small, full-page map of Canada with no title.

At p. 1: Two large maps, as follows: (A) "A General Map of New France, Com̃, call'd Canada, marked "Vol. 1. p. 1A." and (B) "A Map of ye Long River," etc., marked "Vol. 1. p. 1B."

At p. 26: Iroquois canoes.

At p. 43: Mr. de la Barre's camp.

At p. 65: Hunting scene.

At p. 75: French under Denonville fight Indians.

At p. 89: Lake of Hurons.

At p. 106: Beaver and buffaloes.

At p. 225: Map of Newfoundland.

Signatures. A in eight, a in four, B-S (excepting J) in eights, T in four.

Copies. AHG, BHC, BM, MHS, NYP.

Volume 2: J. Walthoe, etc.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Giving a full Account of the Customs, | Commerce, Religion, and strange Opinions | of the Savages of that Country. | With | Political Remarks upon the Courts | of Portugal and Denmark, and the Present State of | the Commerce of those Countries. | [Line] | The Second Edition. | [Line] | Written | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord-Lieutenant of | the French Colony at Placentia in New- | foundland: Now in England. | [Line] | Vol. II. | [Line] | London: | Printed for J. Walthoe, R. Wilkin, J. and J. Bonwicke, | J. Osborn, S. Birt, T. Ward and E. Wicksteed. 1735. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "A Discourse," pp. 3-91; "A Conference," pp. 92-185; p. [186] blank; "An Appendix," pp. 187-288; "A Short Dictionary," pp. 289-304. No mispaging.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown. The plates are the same as those in Vol. 2 of the English edition of 1703, evidently printed from the same plates, and in the same locations.

Frontispiece: Indian in an oval, with left foot on crown and scepter, and right foot on book. Oval superscribed "Et leges et sceptra terit."

At p. 5: "A village of the Savages of Canada," and different types of Indians.

At p. 29: Sun worship.

At p. 36: "The ceremony of marriage."

At p. 59: "A beaver pool."

At p. 59, also: "The beaver hunting spoken of in ye 16 letter."

At p. 80: War instruments and practices.

At p. 82: "The Calumet of peace being a great pipe," &c.

At p. 84: Insignia of eight Indian tribes.

At p. 86: Explication of hieroglyphicks.

There is no plate at p. 51, as in the 1703 English edition.

Signatures. Aa-Tt (excepting Jj) in eights. Sig. Tt_3 is misprinted Tt_4.

Copies. A (superb copy, all edges untrimmed), AHG, BA, BHC, BM, C, MHS, NYP, WLCL.

Volume 1: Brindley issue.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Containing | An Account of the several Nations of that vast Con- | tinent; their Customs, Commerce, and Way of Naviga- | tion upon the Lakes and Rivers; the several Attempts of | the English and French to dispossess one another; with the | Reasons of the Miscarriage of the former; and the various | Adventures between the French, and the Iroquese Confe- | derates of England, from 1683 to 1694. | A Geographical Description of Canada, and a | Natural History of the Country, with Remarks upon | their Government, and the Interest of the English and | French in their Commerce. | Also a Dialogue between the Author and a General | of the Savages, giving a full View of the Religion and | strange Opinions of those People: With an Account of | the Author's Retreat to Portugal and Denmark, and his | Remarks on those Courts. | [Line] | To which is added, | A Dictionary of the Algonkine Language, which is | generally spoke in North-America. | [Line] | Illustrated with Twenty-Three Maps and Cuts. | [Line] | Written in French | By the Baron Lahontan, | Lord Lieutenant of the French Colony at Placentia | in Newfoundland, at that Time in England. | [Line] | Done into English. The Second Edition. | [Line] | In Two Volumes. | A great Part of which never Printed in the Original. | [Line] | Vol. I. | [Line] | London: | Printed for John Brindley, Bookseller, at the King's-Arms | in New-bond-street, Bookbinder to her Majesty, and his | Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; and Charles | Corbett, at Addison's-head, Temple-bar. 1735. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; dedication "To His Grace William Duke of Devonshire," pp. (2); "The Preface," pp. (8); "The Contents," pp. (12); "Some New Voyages to North-America," pp. [1]-202; "Memoires," pp. 203-274; "A Table explaining some Terms made use of in both Volumes," pp. 275-280. No mispaging.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown.

Facing title page: A small, full-page map of Canada with no title.

At p. 1: Two large folded maps, as follows: (A) "A General Map of New France, Coñ, call'd Canada," and (B) "A Map of ye Long River," etc.

At p. 26: "An Iroquese Canoe made of Elm."

At p. 43: Mr. de la Barre's Camp.

At p. 65: Hunting scene.

At p. 75: French under Denonville fight Indians.
At p. 89: Lake of Hurons.
At p. 106: Beaver and buffaloes.
At p. 225: Map of Newfoundland.
Signatures. A in eight, a in four, B-S (excepting J) in eights, T in four.
Copies. C, JCB, WLCL.

Volume 2: Brindley issue.

New | Voyages | to | North-America. | Giving a full Account of the Cu- | stoms, Commerce, Religion, and strange | Opinions of the Savages of that Country. | With | Political Remarks upon the Courts | of Portugal and Denmark, and the Present | State of the Commerce of those Countries. | [Line] | The Second Edition. | [Line] | Written | By the Baron Lahontan, Lord Lieutenant | of the French Colony at Placentia in New- | foundland: Now in England. | [Line] | Vol. II. | [Line] | London: | Printed for J. Brindley, Bookseller, at the King's | Arms in New-bond-street, Bookbinder to her Ma- | jesty, and his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales; | and C. Corbett, at Addison's-head, Temple-bar. | [Line] | M. D. CC. XXXV. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "A Discourse," pp. 3-91; "A Conference of Dialogue," pp. 92-185; p. [186] blank; "An Appendix," pp. 187-288; "A Short Dictionary," pp. 289-304. No mispaging.

Plates. Each plate has engraved on it the location shown. There is no plate at p. 51, as suggested by the Paltsits bibliography. See note in connection with plates in Vol. 1, 1735 English edition, Osborn issue.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval, right foot on book.
At p. 5: "A village of the Savages of Canada."
At p. 29: Sun worship.
At p. 36: "The ceremony of marriage."
At p. 59: "A beaver pool."
At p. 59, also: "The Outagamis Lake—The beaver hunting spoken of in ye 16 letter."
At p. 80: War instruments and practices.
At p. 82: "The Calumet of peace being a great pipe," &c.
At p. 84: Eight insignia.
At p. 86: Explication de hieroglyphicks.
Signatures. Aa-Tt (excepting Jj) in eights. Sig. Tt_3 printed Tt_4.
Copies. C, JCB, WLCL.

1739—Dutch

Sabin says: "This Dutch edition, which is rare, contains many historical and geographical notes, and is in many respects better than either the English or French editions."

Volume 1:

Reizen | van den Baron | van La Hontan | in het | Noordelyk | Amerika, | Vervattende een Verhaal van verscheide Volke- | ren die het bewoonen; den aart hunner Re- | geering, hun Koophandel, hun Ge- | woontens, hun Godsdienst, en | hun wts van Oorloogen. | Neevens het Belang der Franschen en der Engel- | schen in hun Koophandel met die Volkeren; en | 't voordeel dat Engeland, met Vrankryk in | Oorlog zynde, vàn dat Land kan trekken. | Alles met verscheide Aanteekeningen vermeer- | dert en opgeheldert, en met Kaartenen | Plaaten verciert. | Eerste Deel. | Vertaalt door | Gerard Westerwyk. | [Ornament] | In's Gravenhage, | By Isaac Beauregard. 1739. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "Voorbericht van den Vertaaler," pp. (3); "Korte Inhouden," pp. (7); "Reizen," pp. [1]-280, an insert map-key of four pages at this location, the first page of which is numbered 281. The other three pages are not numbered, followed by pp. 281-582. Pages are mispaged as follows: 58, 59; 59, 60; 62, 64; 298, 498; 305, 30; and 445, 447. There are no pages 191 and 192. Lines 1, 3, 6, 12-15, and 21 of title page and place of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown, except as noted.

At p. [1]: Globe and bird in circle of stars—"Orbis Patria."

At p. [1] also: Explication of hieroglyphicks.

At p. 65: "Canot des Iroquois de'corce D'ormeau."

At p. 190: French under Denonville fight Indians, marked "Eerste Deel, Blatz 192." There is no p. 192.

At p. 297: Beaver.

At first page of map explication, which is numbered 281, is a large folded map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares Ont Dessine sur Carte de la Riviere longue et de quelques autres."

At p. 398: "Wilde Ossen. Boeufs Sauvages."

At p. 488: "Ataque de Quebec."

At p. 544: "Grande Baye de plaisance."

Signatures. * in six, A-Nn (excepting J, Jj, U and W) in eights, Oo in two, with an insert of two leaves between S_3 and S_4.

Copies. BHC, C, JCB, NYP, WHS.

Volume 2:

Gedenkschriften | van het | Noordelyk | Amerika, | of het vervolg der | Reizen van den | Baron van La Hontan. | Vervattende de Beschryving van een groote | streek Land van dat Weerelddeel; het Belang | der Franschen en der Engelschen in 't zelve; | hun Koophandel, hun Schipvaart, en de | Zeeden en Gewoontens der Wil- | den, &c. Alles met Aanteekeningen | vermeerdert en opgeheldert. | Neevens de Zaamenspraaken van den Schryver met | een Wilden,

en een Woordenboek | van de Taal dier Volkeren. | Met Kaarten en Plaaten Verciert. | Tweede Deel. | Vertaalt door | Gerard Westerwyk. | [Ornament] | In's Gravenhage, | By Isaac Beauregard, 1739. |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso blank; "Gedenkschriften," pp. [1]-4; "Explication des Marques," pp. 5-[7]; p. [8] blank; Resumption of "Gedenkschriften," pp. 5-358; half title: "Saamenspraaken | van den | Schryver dezer Reizen | met | Adario | een Wilden van Aanzien," etc., on p. [359]; p. [360] blank; text of same, pp. [361]-523; "Woordenboek van de Taal der Wilden," pp. 524-552. Pages are mispaged as follows: 91, 19; 307, 367; and 427, 527. Pages 359-361 are not numbered. Lines 1, 4, 7, 15-17, and 21 of title page and place of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown, except as noted.

At p. 5: Large folded map, "Carte generale de Canada," marked "Tom: 2 Pag. 1."

At p. 178: "Village des Sauvages de Canada."

At p. 190: "Calumet de paix," &c.

At p. 239: Sun worship. The Library of Congress copy has also at this location, the long narrow plate, "explication of hieroglyphicks," not numbered, which Paltsits calls for at p. 358. It is not in the John Carter Brown copy, and may not have been in this volume as published.

At p. 273: "Sauvages qui sortant de la Sucrie."

At p. 297: "Etang a Castor."

At p. 352: Four insignia.

At p. 357: Four insignia.

At p. 390: Implements and methods of war.

Signatures. Title, A-Ll (excepting J, Jj, U and W) in eights, Mm in four, with two insert leaves between A_2 and A_3.

Copies. BHC, C, JCB, NYP, WHS.

1741—French

This edition of three volumes is a reissue by the same publisher of Volumes 1 and 2 of the 1728 French edition.

Paltsits states that Vol. 2 of this edition was called Vol. 3, and that Vol. 3 was called Vol. 2. A careful check discloses this to be erroneous. He evidently assumed that because the title of Vol. 2 was "Suite des Voyages," the same as Vol. 3 of the 1728 French edition, this should be Vol. 3 of the 1741 edition. The contents of Vol. 1 of the 1728 edition was split into two volumes in 1741. Vol. 1, 1728, contains 398 pages of text, letters 1 to 25; Vol. 1, 1741, contains only 188 pages of text, and letters 1 to 15; Vol. 2, 1741, contains 210 pages of text and letters 16 to 25. Vol. 3 of the 1741 edition is textually identical with Vol. 2 of the 1728 edition, and both are titled "Memoires." It will be noted that Vol. 3 of the 1728 edition was published by a different publisher

from Vols. 1 and 2. I have not found a 1741 edition of the dialogues and voyages to Portugal and Denmark, which are in Vol. 3 of the 1728 edition. If such a volume was ever issued, the complete 1741 edition would consist of four volumes.

Volume 1:

Voyages | du Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffé- | rens Peuples qui y habitent; la nature | de leur Gouvernement; leur Commer- | ce, leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & | leur maniére de faire la Guerre: | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer de ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Pemier [*sic*] | Seconde Edition, revûë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [Ornament] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François L'Honoré, vis-à-vis de la Bourse. | [Line] | M. DCC. XXXXI. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Préface," pp. (8); "Voyages" or text, pp. 1-188; "Table des Lettres," pp. (4). P. 82 is mispaged 28, and p. 96 is mispaged 90. Lines 1, 3, 5, 6, 12-15, and 17 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map or plate has engraved on it the location shown. Some of the plates are rather crude.

Frontispiece: Indian in oval, with right foot on book.
At p. 10: Small map, "Carte general du Canada en petit point."
At p. 14: "Profil de la Ville de Quebec." (Crude)
At p. 25: "Canot des Iroquois," etc.
At p. 38: "Lac des Outagamis." (Crude)
At p. 56: "Campement de Mr. de la Barre." (Crude)
At p. 87: "Ye Raquettes." (Crude)
At p. 97: Hunting scene.
At p. 129: French under Denonville fight Indians.
At p. 156: "Lac des Hurons." (Crude)

Signatures. Title page, * in four, A-H in twelves.

Copies. A, BE, BHC, C, HC, JCB, WHS, WLCL.

Volume 2:

Suite | des Voyages | du Baron | de Lahontan | dans | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | Qui contiennent une Relation des diffé- | rens Peuples qui y habitent; la nature | de leur Gouvernement; leur Commer- | ce leurs Coûtumes, leur Religion, & | leur maniére de faire la Guerre | L'Intérêt des François & des Anglois dans le | Commerce qu'ils font avec ces Nations, l'a- | vantage que l'Angleterre peut retirer ce | Païs, étant en Guerre avec la France. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Second. | Seconde Edition, revûë, corrigée, & augmentée. | [Ornament] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré, vis-à-vis de la Bourse. | [Line] | M. DCC. XXXXI. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Table des Lettres du Tome Second," pp. (4); "Suite," pp. 1-210; "Explication de quelques Termes," pp. 211-220. No mispaging. Lines 2, 4, 6, 7, 13-16, and 18 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown. The plates are all rather crude.

At p. 1: Folded map, "Carte que les Gnacsitares ont Dessiné."
At p. 8: Castor.
At p. 23: "Boeufs Sauvages."
At p. 38: "Lac des Outagamis."
At p. 172: "la Grande Baye de Plaisance."
At p. 175: "Combat entre deux Voisseaux Anglois et François."

Signatures. Title and two leaves, A-I in twelves, K in two.

Copies. A, BE, BHC, C, HC, JCB, WHS, WLCL.

Volume 3:

Memoires | de | l'Amerique | Septentrionale, | ou la Suite | des Voyages de Mr le | Baron de Lahontan: | Qui contiennent la Description d'une grande | étenduë de Païs de ce Continent, l'intérêt des | François & des Anglois, leurs Commerces, | leurs Navigations, les Moeurs & les Coûtu- | tumes [*sic*] des Sauvages, &c. | Avec un petit Dictionaire de la langue du Païs. | Le tout enrichi de Cartes & de Figures. | Tome Troisieme. | Seconde Edition, augmentée de la maniére dont | les Sauvages se régalent. | [Cut, a double cornucopia] | A Amsterdam, | Chez François l'Honoré & Compagnie. | [Line] | M. DCC. XXXXI. |

Collation. 12mo; title, verso blank; "Memoires," pp. 1-218; "Dictionnaire de la Langue des Sauvages," pp. 219-237, with verso of p. 237 blank. No mispaging. P. 4 is not numbered. Lines 1, 3, 6, 7, 13 and 15 of title page and place and date of imprint printed in red.

Plates. Each map and plate has engraved on it the location shown. Some of the plates are rather crude.

At p. 1: Large folded map, "Carte generale de Canada."
At p. 51: "Etang a Castor." (Crude)
At p. 103: "Village des Sauvages de Canada." (Crude)
At p. 110: "Calumet de paix," etc. (Crude)
At p. 137: Sun worship.
At p. 142: "La Ceremonie du Mariage." (Crude)
At p. 166: "Sauvages qui sortant," etc.
At p. 191: Implements and methods of war.
At p. 208: Four insignia. (Crude)
At p. 209: Four insignia. (Crude)
At p. 210: "Explication de hieroglyphicks."

Signatures. Title, A-K (excepting J) in twelves, the last leaf blank. Sig. F_4 is printed E_4.

Copies. A, BE, BHC, BN, C, HC, JCB, WHS, WLCL.

1757—French: Extract

Voiage du Baron de la Hontan sur la Riviere Longue.

The above marginal title belongs to a short extract in the original quarto edition of *Histoire Général des Voiages, ou Nouvelle Collection de toutes les Relations de Voiages*, edited by Antoine François Prevost d'Exiles. It is found in Vol. XIV (Paris: Chez Didot, 1757), pp. 719-729.

This French collection of voyages was also issued in duodecimo: *Paris: Chez Didot*, 1749-1789, 80 vols. of text; in quarto: *A La Haye: Chez Pierre De Hondt*, 1747-1780, 25 vols. It appeared in Dutch: *In's Gravenhage: By Pieter de Hondt*, 1747-1767, 21 vols., quarto; in German: *Leipzig: Arkstee und Merkus*, 1747-1774, 21 vols., quarto; and in Spanish: *En Madrid: En la Imprenta de Don Juan Antonio Lozano*, 1763-1791, 28 vols., quarto.

1758—German: Extract

Reise des Barons de la Hontan auf dem langen Flusse. |

This is the heading of an extract in Vol. 16 of the "Allgemeine Historie | der Reisen zu Wasser und Lande; | oder | Sammlung | aller | Reisebeschreibungen, | [etc.] Leipzig, bey Arkstee und Merkus. 1758." |

This is the German translation of Prevost's collection, q.v. under 1757. The German editor was Johann Joachim Schwabe. Lahontan begins the fourth "Abschnitt" of the twelfth chapter, on p. 694. Described from a copy in BA.

1812—English: Abridgment

Travels in Canada; | by the Baron Lahontan. |

Such is the heading of this abridgment in John Pinkerton's *A General Collection of the best and most interesting Voyages and Travels in all Parts of the World;* ***Volume the thirteenth.*** London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, Paternoster-Row; and Cadell and Davies, in the Strand. 1812.

A footnote shows that the English edition (London, 1735) was used as the source of the text. It extends from p. 254 to 373. Good illustrations are included as follows: "Coffer of Perotte," at p. 266; double plate, "On the River St. Lawrence" and "Characteristic Scenery of the Hudson River," at p. 271; "Falls of Niagara," which is "Engraved by G. Cooke, from an Original Drawing," at p. 296.

1831—Italian— Vols. 1 and 2

Viaggi | del | Barone di Lahontan | nell'America Settentrionale | Tradotti dal Francese | dal già Capitano Italiano | A. F. | Volume Primo [Secondo] Milano | Per G. Truffi e Comp. | 1831 |

Collation. 2 vols.; small 8vo; Vol. 1: half title: "Viaggi | del | Barone di Lahontan," verso blank; title, verso blank; "Viaggi" or text (Letters I-XV), pp. [5]-215; "Indice," on verso of p. 215. No plates or maps.

Signatures. Two unmarked signatures in eights, 2-12 in eights, 13 in four.

Vol. 2: Half title, verso blank; title, verso blank; text (Letters XVI-XXV), pp. [5]-201; "Indice," p. 202. No maps or plates.

Signatures. [1] in four, 2-12 in eights, 13 in four, 13* in six (last leaf blank).

Printed paper covers, with cut of a globe on a stand; that of Vol. 2 is dated "M. DCCC. XXXII." This is a translation of the first volume of the French work, or series of twenty-five letters.

Copies. A, C.

1900—French

Un Outre-Mer | au xvii[e] Siècle | [Line] | Voyages au Canada | Du Baron de La Hontan | publiés | Avec une Introduction et des Notes | par | M. François de Nion | [Printer's mark] | Paris | Libraire Plon | Plon-Nourrit et Cie, Imprimeurs-Editors | Rue Garancière, 8 | [Line] | 1900 | Tous droits réservés |

Collation. 8vo; cover title, verso blank; half title, with list of works by the same editor, etc., on verso; title, verso blank; "Introduction," pp. [v]-xix; one blank page; text, pp. [1]-331; p. [332] blank; "Table des Matières," pp. [333]-338; colophon, with verso blank; list of publications by the same publishing house, on last cover, with recto blank. No mispaging.

Signatures. Cover title, half title, title, a in eight, 1-21 in eights, 22 in two, last cover. This work is arranged under twenty-five letters. It is not a full reprint of Lahontan, but presents parts of his work, with interpretations in the narrative. There are no maps or plates, and the editorial notes are sparse.

Copies. A, BHC, BM, CA, JCB, NYP.

1905—English

This edition contains in Vol. 1 a bibliography of Lahontan compiled by Victor Hugo Paltsits.

Volume 1:

New Voyages | to | North-America | by the | Baron de Lahontan | Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of | original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the | addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index | By Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D. | Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Hennepin's | "New Discovery," etc. | In Two Volumes | Volume I | Chicago | A. C. McClurg & Co. | 1905 |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso, copyright notice. Published February 25, 1905; Contents, pp. [V], VI; Illustrations, 1 p., verso blank; Introduction, pp. [IX]-XLIX; Lahontan Bibliography, by Victor Hugo Paltsits, pp. [LI]-XCIII; facsimile title page of 1703 English edition, verso blank; Dedication to His Grace William Duke of Devonshire, pp. [3] and 4; Preface, pp. [5]-12; Contents, pp. [13]-23; Voyages, pp. [25]-298; Memoirs of North-America, pp. [299]-400; A table explaining some terms made use of in both volumes, pp. [401]-407.

Plates. Frontispiece: "A beaver 26 inches long from the head to the tail," and Buffaloes (Wild Beeves). At p. 106 of 1703 English edition.

At facsimile title page of 1703 English edition: A small, full-page map of Canada with no title. Faces title page of 1703 English edition.

At p. 36: "Lake of Hurons." At p. 89 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 80: Iroquois canoes. At p. 26 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 124: "Mr. de la Barre's camp." At p. 43 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 156: Folding map, "A general map of New France com̃, call'd Canada." At p. 1 of dedication in 1703 English edition.

At p. 188: "2 Rackets." At p. 55 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 220: Hunting scene. At p. 65 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 254: Battle with Iroquois Indians. French under Denonville. At p. 75 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 284: Folding map, "A map of Long River and some others that fall into that small part of ye Great River of Mississippi which is here laid down." At p. 1 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 316: "The attack of Quebec." At p. 160 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 344: "The Great bay of Placentia." At p. 184 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 384: Map of Newfoundland. At p. 225 of 1703 English edition.

Signatures. a-f in eights, 1-25 in eights, 26 in four (last leaf blank). The last leaf of sigs. 1-25, except 2, bears the number of the next following sig.

Volume 2:

New Voyages | to | North-America | by the | Baron de Lahontan | Reprinted from the English edition of 1703, with facsimiles of | original title-pages, maps, and illustrations, and the | addition of Introduction, Notes, and Index | By Reuben Gold Thwaites, LL.D. | Editor of "The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents," Hennepin's | "New Discovery," etc. | In Two Volumes | Volume II | Chicago, | A. C. McClurg & Co. | 1905 |

Collation. 8vo; title, verso, copyright notice. Published February 25, 1905; Contents, pp. [V], VI; Illustrations, 1 p., verso blank; facsimile title page of 1703 English edition, verso blank; "A Discourse," pp. [411]-515; "A Conference or Dialogue," pp. [517]-618; "An Appendix, Containing Some New Voyages to Portugal and Denmark," pp. [619]-731; "A Short Dictionary Of the most Universal Language of the Savages," pp. [732]-748; Index, pp. [749]-797.

Plates. Frontispiece: Indian within oval, with left foot on crown and scepter, and right foot on book, having the superscription "Et Leges et Sceptra terit."

At p. 430: "A Village of the Savages of Canada," and different types of Indians. At p. 5 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 464: Sun worship. At p. 29 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 492: "The Ceremony of Marriage." At p. 36 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 524: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death. At p. 51 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 556: "A beaver pool." At p. 59 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 588: "The Beaver hunting spoken of in ye 16 letter." At p. 59 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 622: War instruments and practices. At p. 80 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 654: "The Calumet of peace being a great pipe &c." At p. 82 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 686: Insignia of eight Indian tribes. At p. 84 of 1703 English edition.

At p. 720: Explication of hieroglyphics. At p. 86 of 1703 English edition.

Signatures. 26-50 in eights.

1931—French

Baron de Lahontan | [Line] | Dialogues Curieux | entre l'Auteur | et un Sauvage de bon Sens | qui a voyagé | et | Mémoires de l'Amérique Septentrionale | publiés par | Gilbert Chinard | Professeur | a l'Université Johns Hopkins | [Line] | Avec 7 reproductions des gravures originales. | [Line] | The Johns Hopkins Press | Baltimore, Maryland | A. Margraff | Paris, 37, Rue Saint-André-des-Arts | Oxford University Press | London: Humphrey Milford | 1931 |

Note: The Paris and London publishers and addresses just preceding the date, are opposite each other with a line between.

Collation. 8vo (25 cm.); title, on verso, "Printed in France"; Introduction, pp. 1-72; "Mémoires de l'Amerique Septentrionale," pp. 73-155; "Dialogues Curieux," pp. 157-259; Index, pp. 261-268; "Table des matières," p. [269]; Table des Illustrations, p. [271]; Colophon, p. [273]. Lines 2 and 7 of title page are printed in red.

Plates. Double-page frontispiece, reproduction of the two frontispieces in Vol. 1 of Angel issue of the 1703 French edition.

At p. 116: "Ceremonie du Mariage." Reproduction of plate at p. 133, Vol. 2, Angel issue of 1703 French.

At p. 124: Ceremonies attendant upon sickness and death. This is reproduction of similar plate at p. 151, Vol. 2, Ornament issue, which is reversed from plate at p. 148, Vol. 2, Angel, and is somewhat changed.

At p. 132: Hunting scene. Reproduction of plate at p. 85, Vol. 1, Ornament issue, which is reversal of same plate at p. 85, Vol. 1, Angel issue.

At p. 150: Insignia of four Indian tribes, "Armes des Outagamis," etc. Reproduction of plate at p. 189, Vol. 2, Angel issue.

At p. 154: Explication des Hiéroglyphes. Reproduction of plate at p. 191, Vol. 2, Angel issue.

At p. [158]: Lahontan showing picture to Indians. Reproduction of plate at p. 1, Vol. 3, 1704 French. The same plate first appeared at p. 1, Vol. 3, 1703 French, Angel issue.

Signatures. 1-17 in eights.

Copies. A, AHG, BM, BN, CA.

Note: Professor Chinard says: "The purpose of the book was not to publish an edition of Lahontan's travels; but to make available to students of French literature a text which had been neglected by most historians of French literature in the 18th century.

"It seems to me that the most important part was constituted by the *Dialogues* forming in fact a separate work as the title page indicates. I reproduced the part of the *Mémoires* which could be considered as the 'source' of the *Dialogues*. The text reproduced is the text of 1703, and the 1705 edition of the third dialogue."

The *Mémoires* on pages 91-155 are reprinted from the 1703 Angel issue, Vol. 2, pp. 90-194. The *Dialogues Curieux* on pp. 159-231 are reprinted from the 1703 Angel issue, Vol. 3, pp. 1-103. The *III. Conversation* on pp. 235-259 is reprinted from the 1705 Amsterdam editions (the texts are identical), Vol. 2, pp. 272-310.

In the 1705 editions, the dialogues were entirely rewritten and a new dialogue (III. Conversation) added. The first two dialogues were much expanded and amplified. Chinard's notes cite some important differences in the two texts. The question as to what extent Gueudeville participated in the revision of the dialogues, either as editor or author, is commented upon at length.

1932—English

Lahontan's | Voyages | Edited with Introduction and Notes | by | Stephen Leacock, B.A. Ph.D. | [Round ornament] | 1932 | Graphic Publishers Limited | Ottawa Canada |

Collation. 8vo; half title (on recto of front.): "The Canada Series | General Editor, Lawrence J. Burpee | [Double rule] | Volume Three | [Rule] | Lahontan's Voyages | "; title, verso, "The Canada Series | Copyright in Canada | At the Printing House of | Graphic Publishers Limited | ; Introduction, pp. v-xvi; text, pp. 1-337; p. [338] blank; Editorial Notes, pp. 339-348; 2 blank leaves.

Plates. Frontispiece, reproduction of title page of Vol. 2 of first English edition, London, 1703.

Signatures. 22 unnumbered sigs. in sixteens.

Copies. AHG, CA.

This is a reprint of Volumes 1 and 2 of the first English edition (London, 1703). Leacock's introduction and notes are valuable. He defends Lahontan against his critics.

1940—French and English

Collection Oakes | [Line] | nouveaux documents | de | Lahontan | sur | le Canada et Terre-Neuve | edités avec introduction par | Gustave Lanctot | docu-

ments offerts | par | Lady Oakes | aux | Archives Publiques du Canada | Ottawa | J. O. Patenaude, O.S.I. | Imprimeur de sa très excellente Majesté le Roi | 1940 |

The Oakes collection | [Line] | new documents | by | Lahontan | concerning | Canada and Newfoundland | edited | with an introduction by | Gustave Lanctot | documents presented | by | Lady Oakes | to the | Public Archives of Canada | Ottawa | J. O. Patenaude, I.S.O. | Printer to the King's most excellent Majesty | 1940 |

Collation. 8vo, 71 pp., alternate French and English.

Plates.

1. First page of the autograph manuscript of *Lahontan: Instructive summary of the affairs of Canada.* (Circa 1696.)

2. First page of the autograph manuscript of Lahontan: *Outline of a project to capture Quebec and Placentia.* (Circa 1696.)

3-5. Autograph letter of Lahontan, with signature, June 19, 1694.

6. Quebec seen from the northwest.

7 [folding]. Quebec as seen from the east side.

8 [folding]. Plan of Quebec in New France, besieged by the English, 1690.

9 [folding]. Plan of the enclosed post at Placentia in Newfoundland, 1690.

Signatures. Four in eights and one in ten.

Note: The first document reprinted in this book, "Instructive Summary of the Affairs of Canada," pp. 20-37, is from the collection of Sir Thomas Phillips, and was presented by Lady Oakes in 1940 to The Public Archives of Canada, who assign to it the date 1696. The second document, "Outline of a Project to Capture Quebec and Placentia," pp. 38-59, was among the papers of William Blathwayt, "Secretary-at-War" under William III. This document was not presented by Lady Oakes, but was in the Viscount Northcliffe collection, presented to the Canadian government in 1923. There is a description of it on page 431 of the catalogue of that collection. It was apparently not known at that time that Lahontan was the author, and the date 1690 there assigned is probably too early. The original of the *Donation by Lahontan*, pp. 60-63 of the appendix, is in the archives of the Palais de Justice de Montréal, and was first printed in *Le Bulletin des Recherches Historiques*, published by E. Z. Massicotte in 1920, Vol. 26, pp. 11-12.

The original of the letter of June 19, 1694, pp. 62-65 of the appendix is in Archives Nationales, Paris, Archives de la Marine, C^7-160. It was first published in 1880 in Margry's *Découvertes et Establissements des François*, Vol. 4, p. 6. It was also printed by J. E. Roy in his article "Le Baron de Lahontan," in *Mémoires de la Société Royale*, 1894, section 1, p. 104.

The original of the *Census of New France in 1692*, pp. 66-69 of the appendix, is in the Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa, and is a summary of that which was copied at Paris.

The Public Archives of Canada acquired in 1952 an additional Lahontan manuscript, consisting of 28 pages, folio, which has not yet been published. Its title is "Projet d'un fort Anglais dans le Lac Errié." It is believed to have been written about 1696, while Lahontan was living in exile in Europe (probably in Spain), and

for the information of the English government. In the second manuscript of the Oakes collection, "Outline of a Project to Capture Quebec and Placentia," Lahontan writes: "I have already explained in my previous Memoranda with what ease the English can waste and ruin the trade of the French by the establishment of a fort on Lake Erie." The newly acquired manuscript is evidently one of the previous memoranda to which Lahontan refers. He discusses the advantages that would derive to the English from building a fort (to which he gives the name "Fort Nassau") to control the region near Niagara on Lake Erie, and dominate the overland routes to that lake from Lake Ontario, thus preventing the westward movement of the French to the other lakes and the Mississippi. The fort would ensure English mastery of the Great Lakes, secure for England all the Indian trade (which could be carried on with Boston and Manhattan with much less risk than with Quebec), and safeguard the Iroquois allies of the English from the incursions of the Illinois and Miami tribes. A redoubt on a small river near Niagara would serve as a naval station for a number of vessels which could establish contact with Saginaw (on Lake Huron); Sault Ste. Marie (on the strait between Lake Huron and Lake Superior); Michilimackinac (Mackinaw) commanding the entrance from Lake Huron into the Lake of the Illinois (now Lake Michigan); the Baye des Puans (Green Bay); and the "river of the Miamis." From the various Indian tribes of these regions they could obtain the skins of beaver, bear, deer, fox and muskrat. The English, while fighting the French, could easily, having secured control of the Great Lakes, visit such Indian tribes as the Ottawas, Hurons, Potawatomies, Sauk, Miamis, Shawnees, Illinois, Sioux and Foxes, and supplant the French in the trade they did with these tribes. In the event of the conclusion of peace (probably a reference to the imminent Treaty of Ryswick, 1697) between England and France, should England only be awarded Lake Erie and no other of the Great Lakes, English policy should be to urge on the Iroquois to exterminate the Indian allies of the French, and to give them the support of a redoubt at the west end of Lake Erie. The destruction of the tribes in question would mean the end of the French trade with the Indians, and the Iroquois, no longer having to spend the winter fighting, would use the time hunting beaver and trade in the skins with the English. The French would not have sufficient strong points near the Great Lakes to venture into them, and the English would gain control of them and be able to "establish contact with the Mississippi River through the country south of the Lake of the Illinois [Lake Michigan] and Chigakoumemu [Chicago] where the stream [apparently the Illinois River] flows into the said river and from there they could reach Virginia and Carolina, from which several rivers spring [apparently the Ohio and Tennessee rivers]."

Lahontan was much interested in ships and naval strategy. In 1692 he had suggested to the French Ministry of Marine the establishment of a flotilla for the defence of the Great Lakes against the Iroquois, but the Ministry declined to put the plan into operation as it was considered too costly. In this manuscript he discourses at length on suitable vessels for the carrying of merchandise on the lakes. He considers the canoe the most unsuitable of all craft, and specifies certain types of sailing ships and oared vessels which would be desirable. In this connection he mentions a visit of his to Deptford, where the expert shipbuilders told him of the long-boats which they often built for the cod fishing off Newfoundland. There are two references (pp. 13, 21) to a new type of boat constructed by La Salle, the great explorer of the Mississippi and three references (pp. 2, 5, 26) to the campaigns of La Barre and Denonville.

This manuscript came from the celebrated collection of Sir Thomas Phillips,

which was also the source of the first two documents in the Oakes collection. It is believed that all three documents were at one time in the possession of William Blathwayt (1649-1717), William the Third's secretary-at-war, and that later they passed into the hands of Edward Southwell who had married Blathwayt's daughter. Sir Thomas Phillips purchased a large quantity of manuscript accumulated by Southwell.

The William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan, possesses another Lahontan document, which has not been published, and which came also from the Phillips collection. It consists of 12 pages, folio, and is titled, "Brief Discours qui montre en substance Combien il seroit important de réussir dans deux entreprises proposées et contenues en ce mémoire." The two enterprises pertained to the capture of Port Royal, in Acadia, by the British, and to the establishment of trade relations with the Indians in the region about Lakes Erie and Ontario, also to the expulsion of the French from that region.

The first project outlines a plan for capturing Port Royal; the second Canadian Archives document outlines a plan for the capture of Quebec and Placentia. The object of both plans was to drive the French out of Canada.

The second project relates to the ruin of the French trade with the Indians around the Great Lakes. This is also the subject of the newly acquired document in the Canadian Archives.

There is some question as to the date of the Clements document. Its brevity as compared with the Canadian document might suggest priority, but the Clements document bears on its title-page the following: "A Milord Comte de Nottingham Ministre et Secretaire de Stat de sa Majesté La Reine de la grande Bretagne." Nottingham was a Councillor of Queen Mary in the 1690's, but he held the title of Secretary of State only under Queen Anne. The appointment was made in April, 1702. This would seem to indicate that the Clements document is the later.

Abbreviations for Locations of Lahontan's Writings

A	Ayer coll., Newberry Library, Chicago.
AHG	A. H. Greenly, Hoboken, N. J.
B	Boston Public Library.
BA	Boston Athenæum.
BE	Bureau of Ethnology, Washington.
BHC	Burton Historical coll., Detroit Public Library.
BM	British Museum.
BN	Bibliothèque Nationale.
C	Library of Congress.
CA	Canadian Public Archives, Ottawa.
EDG	Everett D. Graff, Winnetka, Ill.
F	Dr. O. O. Fisher, Detroit.
HC	Harvard College Library.
JCB	John Carter Brown Library, Providence.
LLQ	Legislative Library, Quebec.
LP	Library of Parliament, Ottawa.
LU	Laval University, Quebec.
MHS	Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston.
NYHS	New-York Historical Society.
NYP	New York Public Library.
WHS	Wisconsin Historical Society, Madison.
WLCL	Wm. L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Bibliographical Notes

Manuscript Copies and Printed Editions of the Indiana Constitution, 1816

There are three known editions of the first Indiana Constitution, all separately printed in 1816. Some doubt prevails about the order of printing the three editions. Two manuscript copies exist: one in the Indiana State Library, the other in the Smith Library of the Indiana Historical Society. The manuscript copy in the State Library, because its provenance has been unbroken from the office of Secretary of State, is frequently called the "official" copy, and has been the copy most often consulted and quoted by those doing research on the early history of the state. While the copy in the Smith Library has been termed authentic by those who have carefully examined it, it has not been given the equally authoritative or official status to which it is entitled, nor has it been consulted as often by investigators. A comparison of the manuscript copies reveals some variations, not of great magnitude, but certainly of historical interest. Checked against the first printed edition, they reveal the possible source which the compositor used in setting his types for this edition. Comparison of the three printed editions of 1816, and a study of the records of the first Constitutional Convention and other contemporary sources, not only establishes priority and textual descent of the three editions, but fixes the approximate date on which each edition was released.

The forty-three delegates from thirteen counties of Indiana Territory who assembled at Corydon on Monday, June 10, 1816; drafted and assembled Indiana's first constitution; and adjourned *sine die* nineteen days later were either conscious of the historical importance of the event or felt obligated to their constituency to leave some printed records, however meager, of their deliberations. One of the early entries in the *Journal of the Convention of Indiana Territory*[1] records: "On motion of Mr. Ferris, *Ordered*, that a committee be appointed to contract for any printing this

[1] The title-page reads: JOURNAL | OF THE | CONVENTION | OF THE | INDIANA TERRITORY: | BEGUN AND HELD AT THE TOWN OF CORYDON | IN THE | COUNTY OF HARRISON, AND TERRITORY AFORESAID, ON | THE SECOND MONDAY IN JUNE, BEING THE TENTH DAY |

convention may deem necessary to be done, and that they report accordingly."[2] Jonathan Jennings, delegate from Clark County who had been elected presiding officer of the Convention, on June 13 appointed a "Committee on the Subject of Printing" composed of delegates James Lemon, Clark County, David Floyd, Harrison County and Ezra Ferris from Dearborn County.[3]

Apparently this committee was instructed to get estimates of printing costs, and it did so with unusual speed. For on June 18, Ezra Ferris "reported that the committee had attended to the duties assigned them . . ." and introduced the following communication from Mann Butler who was then half-owner and editor of *The Louisville Correspondent:*

> The journals and rules of proceedings shall be published at seventy-five cents a thousand m's and seventy-five cents a token,[4] that is any quantity of printing distinct from setting the types, above five quires, and not exceeding ten (the paper being a separate charge, at $6 a ream, what I have given for $250 worth) The m is the regular measure of all book work, and the only guard against imposition of large margins and wide lines; but what amounts to the same is $21 a sheet for every five hundred copies; the sheet to make 16 pages of good workmanlike octavo printing—the paper separate as before. These are the common fair terms of such work all over this State. I will stipulate for the delivery of 16 pages every two weeks, if furnished in time with copy; and could make them every week, but will not say positively in so short a time. I must expect, that the convention, should they sanction the contract, will recommend the fact to the early and effectual attention of the Legislature, as the disbursements upon my part for the work and fitting up new type, will be of no little amount.[5]

Viewed in the light of today's printing costs, Butler's offer seems reasonable. The members of the Convention must have thought so, for they accepted his terms. One might ask why a Kentucky printer was made the official printer to the Convention, since we know that there were at least three active printing establishments in Indiana Territory in June, 1816. Madox and Brandeberry were publishing *The Cornucopia of the West* at

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THEREOF, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, ONE THOUSAND | EIGHT HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN, AND OF THE INDEPEND- | ENCE OF THE UNITED STATES, THE FORTIETH. | [double rule] | LOUISVILLE: | PRINTED BY BUTLER & WOOD | [filet] 1816. [3], 4-69 pp.

[2] *Journal,* June 12, p. 12.

[3] *Journal,* June 13, p. 19.

[4] The token was long used as a measure or quantity of presswork on the hand press. It usually meant 250 sheets printed on one side only. The normal output on the hand press operated by two men when all was made ready for running was a token per hour.

[5] *Journal,* June 18, pp. 33-34.

Lexington; William C. Keen was publishing *The Indiana Register* at Vevay, and Elihu Stout *The Western Sun* at Vincennes.[6] Perhaps the answer in the case of the first three men is that they did not solicit the printing business of the Convention. That answer does not suffice in the case of Stout. He recorded his disappointment that the work was done in Kentucky: "With regard to the printing of the constitution and Journals of the convention, the *Correspondent* is in error—the Editor of this paper had authorized at least three members of the county to procure it for him —and he must believe he could have executed the work as satisfactorily to the Citizens of this state as any man could who resides in Kentucky."[7]

The Convention before adjourning took more action relating to printing. They recommended to the first General Assembly that would convene in the newly created state that it "[make] appropriations to pay for the printing of the journals of the convention, and Constitution of the State," and made the committee on printing responsible for the distribution of the printed *Journal* and *Constitution*. Eleven copies of each were to be sent to every delegate to the Convention, two copies to each of the secretaries, "and the residue to be lodged in the Secretary's office for the use of the state."[8] If Daniel Grass, the delegate from Warrick County who was excused from the Convention on June 19 because of illness, received his eleven copies there was an immediate need of 485 printed copies: 473 to the 43 delegates and twelve to the secretary and five assistant secretaries. Since only 500 copies were ordered printed by the Convention, a residue of fifteen remained for future use of the state.[9]

It has proved impossible to ascertain the precise day on which the Louisville edition of the *Constitution* was published.[10] The logical place to seek the information would be the announcements in Butler's paper, *The*

[6] Clarence S. Brigham, *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820* (Worcester, 1947), pp. 141, 142-143.

[7] *The Western Sun*, August 17, 1816.

[8] *Journal*, June 28, p. 67.

[9] The belief that 500 copies were contracted for by the Convention is based on a petition of the Louisville firm of Berry and Wood, successors to Butler and Wood, to the second session of the General Assembly. See *Journal of the House of Representatives, of the State of Indiana, at their second session at Corydon.* ([Corydon], 1817-18), pp. 54, 104.

[10] The title-page reads: THE | CONSTITUTION | OF THE | STATE OF INDIANA. | [filet] | ADOPTED IN CONVENTION, AT CORYDON, ON THE TWENTY- | NINTH DAY OF JUNE, IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD | EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTEEN, AND OF | THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE UNITED | STATES, THE FORTIETH. | [double rule] | LOUISVILLE: | PRINTED BY BUTLER & WOOD. | [filet] | 1816. | [3], 4-25, [2] pp.

Louisville Correspondent. The best extant file of that weekly journal is in the American Antiquarian Society, but even that lacks many issues. In the numbers that have been preserved, only two notices are found relating to the Indiana *Constitution.* In the issue of July 1, 1816, Butler remarked: "So soon as we receive the constitution of the new state, we shall publish an outline of it for the gratification of our readers." The issue of August 5, 1816, carried this announcement: "THE CONSTITUTION OF INDIANA, as accepted by the committee appointed to examine the printed copy, is for sale at Corydon, Charlestown, Salem, Jeffersonville, and Orleans, as well as at this office. Price 50 cents." If two or three days were allowed for printer's copy to reach Butler from Corydon and his estimate "for the delivery of sixteen pages every two weeks," the August fifth announcement can not be too far off the exact day of publication. It further reveals that more than 500 copies were printed. In addition to those contracted for by the state, Butler printed additional copies for public sale, just how many is not revealed.

Butler petitioned the first session of the General Assembly of Indiana to be remunerated for his printing work: "The Speaker laid before the house a communication from Messrs. Butler and Hughes[11] of Louisville, on the subject of printing together with a copy of the Constitution and Journals of the Convention of Indiana, neatly bound as a present to this house."[12] The petition brought, if not the total sum Butler felt was coming to him, partial results: "Be it enacted by the General Assembly of the State of Indiana, That Mann Butler, be and is hereby allowed the sum of two hundred dollars for printing and stitching the constitution and journals of the late convention."[13] The successor to Butler and Hughes, E. C. Berry, petitioned the second session of the General Assembly in the name of "Berry and Wood" to be further compensated, only to have the committee of ways and means report that in their opinion the account was paid and should not be paid again.[14] Butler petitioned the fourth session ". . . praying a compensation for printing the Journals of the Convention

[11] Wood had died on May 29, 1816, but the imprint "Butler & Wood" was continued until sometime in September, 1816, when James Hughes purchased from Wood's estate his interest in the firm.

[12] *The Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana, at their first session at Corydon* (Corydon, 1816), p. 7.

[13] *Laws of the State of Indiana, passed at the first session of the General Assembly, Held at Corydon on the first Monday in November in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixteen* (Corydon, 1817), p. 239.

[14] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana at their second session at Corydon,* pp. 54, 104.

and the Constitution of this state . . ." The matter was referred to committee, which reported "the prayer of the petitioner is unreasonable, and ought not be granted."[15]

Butler and his successor were so persistent in their requests that one wonders if he *was* fairly paid. If copies of everything he printed for the Convention existed it might be possible, by totaling the number of pages of printed matter and by using his announced price schedule, to arrive at a fairly close computation of the total amount due him. Unfortunately, of the material that he is known to have printed for the Convention, only the *Journal* and *Constitution* survive. The *Journal* records "That one hundred copies of the standing rules and orders of the convention be printed, and that the Secretary be directed to furnish the editor of the Louisville Correspondent with a copy of the same for that purpose."[16] If the standing rules were printed, so far as is known a copy has not survived. Perhaps Butler did other printing for the Convention that was not recorded in the *Journal;* perhaps the repeated requests for additional compensation were justified; or maybe the State of Indiana was a bad financial risk while it was still in the process of coming into being.

At Vincennes Elihu Stout chafed during the month of July and half of the month of August, 1816, because he could get no satisfactory summary of the new constitution. He hinted that the Convention had a motive in getting the new constitution printed in Kentucky: "Our wise convention, either, to delay the publication, or *secure some extrinsic support*, sent their constitution to Kentucky to be printed." He suggested that the printing of the constitution had been purposely delayed until after the election of state officers[17] "for a number of the very men who composed the convention are now soliciting the people to fill the offices they themselves have created."[18] A few weeks later Stout editorialized on the convention and stated that he had tried to secure the printing contract.[19] The next issue of his newspaper contained this notice: "The Constitution of the State of Indiana has just been published, and is for sale at this office—

[15] *Journal of the House of Representatives of the State of Indiana, being the fourth session of the General Assembly. Begun and held at Corydon, in said state, on Monday the sixth day of December—1819.* (Corydon, 1819-'20), pp. 165, 205.

[16] *Journal,* June 11, p. 10.

[17] The first election held in Indiana for state officers was held on the first Monday in August, 1816.

[18] *The Western Sun,* July 20, 1816.

[19] *Ibid.,* August 17, 1816.

Price 25 cents."[20] The price asked for the second edition was one-half that of the first.

The third edition of the *Constitution* was printed in Washington, D. C., sometime between December 6 and 31, 1816.[21] On the last day of the Convention the delegates had resolved that printed copies of the new constitution be sent to the President of the United States, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House. The U. S. House of Representatives on December 6, 1816, when considering the joint resolution on the "Admission of Indiana" ordered the constitution of the new state printed.[22]

Attempting to identify the source used in printing the three editions of 1816 is a task of conning for minute typographical variations, but certain conclusions can be reached by comparing the printed editions with the two manuscript copies.

The Convention by resolution agreed "That there shall be two complete copies of the Constitution of Indiana, one of which shall be lodged with the President of the Convention, to be kept by him until the meeting of the first General Assembly, at which time the Constitution shall be laid before them, and to be disposed of in such manner as they may direct." The Convention also appointed delegate James Lemon of Clarksville, and Robert A. New of Jeffersonville, who had acted as one of the assistant secretaries for the Convention, a committee to superintend the printing of the constitution, and required them to report to the first General Assembly.[23]

[20] *Ibid.*, August 24, 1816. The same announcement appeared in the issues of August 31, September 7, 14, 21, 28, and October 5, 12, 26, 1816. The title-page of the Vincennes edition reads: THE | CONSTITUTION | OF THE | STATE OF INDIANA, | Adopted in Convention, at Corydon, on the twenty- | ninth day of June, in the year of our Lord one | thousand eight hundred and sixteen, and of | the Independence of the United States, | the fortieth. | [rule] | VINCENNES: | PRINTED BY ELIHU STOUT, | [double row of dots] | 1816. | [3], 4-27, [2] pp.

[21] The title-page of the Washington edition reads: [3] | CONSTITUTION | OF | THE STATE OF INDIANA: | ADOPTED | IN CONVENTION, | AT | CORYDON, ON THE 29th OF JUNE, A.D. 1816, | AND OF THE | Independence of the United States, THE | FORTIETH. | [double rule] | December 6, 1816. | Printed by order of the House of Representatives of the | United States. | [double rule] | WASHINGTON: | PRINTED BY WILLIAM A. DAVIS. | [row of dots] | 1816. | [3], 4-36 pp.

[22] *Annals of Congress*, 14th Cong., 2nd Sess., p. 252.

[23] *Journal*, June 29, p. 69.

The two manuscript copies which the convention ordered to be prepared have been preserved. One copy was transferred to the Indiana State Library by the Secretary of State in 1934. The other copy is in the Smith Library of the Indiana Historical Society. (It was a part of the William E. English collection acquired in 1932.)[24] Jennings, who had been elected governor in the first state election, did as instructed by the Convention. He deposited "one of the original copies of the constitution and the ordinance adopted and signed by that body" with the Senate.[25] There is no record in the House Journal that he deposited the other copy with that body, but it can be assumed that he did, for ten years later both manuscript copies were in possession of the Secretary of State. In the session of 1826-27, Secretary of State William W. Wick, sent one copy to the House and the other to the Senate for exhibit, announcing that he had both copies "handsomely bound in morocco and gilt."[26] This is the last record that reveals that both copies were kept together. Sometime after the session of 1826-27, one of the copies "escaped" from the office of Secretary of State; found its way into the English collection; and in the 1930's was united again, if not in the same depository at least in the same building with the copy that had remained, until 1934, in the custody of the Secretary of State.

A comparison of the Louisville printed edition with the two manuscript copies leads to the tentative conclusion that Mann Butler had both of the manuscripts as copy when he set the types for his edition. Both members of the committee to superintend the printing were residents of Clark County as was Jennings, into whose trust one of the copies was presumably placed until the meeting of the first General Assembly. It seems logical to think that the two committee members with the approval of Jennings carried both copies to the printer so that no possible question would arise during the composing, and that they returned both copies to

[24] See Christopher B. Coleman, "The Discovery and Identification of an Original Copy of the Constitution of 1816," *Indiana Magazine of History*, XXX, 360-364. In that article Coleman suggested that the Smith manuscript had been used as the printer's copy for printing the Constitution.

[25] *The Journal of the Senate of the State of Indiana, at their first session at Corydon* (Corydon, 1816), p. 15.

[26] *Journal of the House of Representatives, of the State of Indiana, being the eleventh session of the General Assembly, begun and held at Indianapolis, in said State, on Monday the fourth day of December, 1826.* (Indianapolis, [1827]), pp. 172-173. *Journal of the Senate of the State of Indiana, being the eleventh session of the General Assembly, of the State of Indiana, begun and held at Indianapolis in said State, on Monday the fourth day of December, A.D., 1826* (Indianapolis, [1827]), pp. 91-92.

him after the printing was finished. Butler did not follow the manuscripts in every jot and tittle, and was thus able to make the printed version an improvement over the manuscripts without in any way changing the meaning or content. Only one error in wording is noted in the Louisville edition.

The manuscript copies as they exist today measure approximately 8 by 10 inches. It is believed that the copyists employed a letter sheet 10 by 16 inches onto which the constitutions were copied. This sheet was folded once, making a folio 8 by 10 inches. The copyists used only the two recto pages of each folio; thus every verso page is blank. Wove paper without any visible watermark was used. It is possible that the folios were stitched together and that some protective binding was originally used over the two copies. In 1826 both copies were full-bound in leather. Both front and back covers were panel-stamped with five panels, two of which were gold stamped and three blind stamped. There is gold stamping on the spines. The blank pages were lined off with pencil before the copyists began their work. The pencil lines are still visible, especially the vertical lines for the left margins. Someone has printed in ink on the front cover of the Smith copy: "First state Constitution of Indiana. 1816."

Both manuscripts differ in punctuation and capitalization. It is not possible to tell, indeed, whether a given letter was intended by the scribes to be lower or upper case. Punctuation marks seem to have been placed in the manuscripts with gleeful but unintelligible abandon. For that reason the compositor of the Louisville edition did not consistently follow either manuscript, and in some places he used punctuation marks that do not exist in either one. Both manuscripts have the contents in the same order of arrangement, consisting of the Ordinance, the Preamble, the twelve articles of the constitution, and the signatures of the delegates. The Louisville edition has, following the title-page, the Preamble; the twelve articles of the constitution; the signatures of the delegates, and the Ordinance. The arrangement of contents is not conclusive, because the binder of 1826 could have been responsible for the present order of contents in the manuscript copies.

Unless Butler was instructed by the committee on printing or was following an established system of italicizing, he departed from both manuscript copies in that respect. Only two words are underscored to indicate italics in the manuscripts. They are *viva voce* in Article VI, Section 2. Butler italicized the words *provided, provided also, and provided also, provided however* and *provided notwithstanding* throughout the constitution as well as

viva voce. The phrase in the Ordinance "Be it ordained by the Representatives of the people of the Territory of Indiana, in Convention met at Corydon on Monday, the tenth day of June, in the year of our Lord, eighteen hundred and sixteen," is not underscored in either manuscript but is wholly in italics in the Louisville edition, as well as "President of the Convention and Delegate from the county of Clark," which appears under the signature of Jennings at the end of Article XII of the constitution. The phrase that followed the signature of the delegates: "Delegate in Convention from the county of ——" was also put in italics by Butler. Neither of the manuscripts has a title-page. Following the Ordinance on a separate page in the State Library copy, written in three lines, is "The Constitution of the State of Indiana." The copy in the Smith Library has written on a separate page following the signatures of the delegates: "Constitution of Indiana." Copy for the Louisville edition title-page was either furnished Butler or he made it up from the contents. In the State Library copy the section headings are variously abbreviated "Sect," "sec." and "S." In the Smith copy they are abbreviated "S." In the Louisville printed edition the section headings are uniformly abbreviated "Sec." One instance occurred where Butler apparently misread the manuscripts. Article IV, Section 8, in part reads in both manuscripts: "and all offices which may be created." In the Louisville edition it was printed "and all officers which may be created."

Eight variations are noted in the two manuscripts in which instance Butler followed the Smith Library copy. The Preamble of the State Library copy reads: "one thousand thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven"; Article III, Section 14, "guilty of any disrespect"; Article IV, Section 13, "in extraordinary occasions"; Article VII, Section 9, "they arrive"; Article IX, Section 1, "humanity, honesty, industry, and morality"; and in the Ordinance the date "June 29th 1816" is written above the signature of Jennings. The corresponding sections of the Smith Library copy read: "one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven," "guilty of disrespect," "on extraordinary occasions," "they shall arrive," "humanity, industry and morality," and no date is present above the signature of Jennings. In the State Library copy the signatures of the delegates from Washington and Wayne counties appear one after another with nothing to indicate the counties they represented. In the Smith Library copy a brace occurs at the right of the signatures of the delegates from those two counties, with this identification: "Delegates in Convention from the County of Washington," and "Delegates in Convention from the County of Wayne."

In only three instances where variations exist in the manuscripts, did Butler follow the State Library copy. In the Smith copy above the signature of the secretary, William Hendricks, the phrase "By order of the Convention" appears. This phrase is not present in the State Library copy. In Article I, Section 1, in the Smith copy the ampersand is used ("& safety"). In the State Library copy the "and" is spelled out. In the Ordinance, part of the Congressional Enabling Act is quoted. At the beginning of each new line within the quoted matter, the State Library copy has quotation marks. Butler followed that style. The Smith copy has no such quotation marks.

Perhaps one of the reasons why Butler followed the Smith copy more frequently is that it is both neater and cleaner. In the State Library copy the caret is used more often for insertions, the slant for cross-outs of irrelevant letters, and the dash to eliminate the wrong word or a duplicate word. While the Smith copy is not altogether free of the symbols of correction, it has fewer of them. The handwriting of the scribes who copied the two manuscripts is more than acceptable by present-day standards, and designating one copy as "better" is purely a matter of personal taste. There is a tradition in the Maxwell family that David H. Maxwell, delegate to the convention from Jefferson County, was the copyist for the State Library copy.[27] The Smith copy is in a different hand, and there is some indication that more than one copyist was employed in completing it.

Though the Vincennes printed edition differs in many respects from the Louisville edition, it is our belief that Stout set his types for his edition from a copy of the Louisville edition. The variations that exist in the Vincennes edition are there as a result of Stout's attempt to condense and to make what he considered improvements in the Louisville edition.

The first difference can be seen in a reading of the two title-pages. The main differences can be summarized as follows: The Vincennes edition did not follow the Louisville edition in capitalization. Quite frequently an initial letter in a word will in the Louisville edition be in lower case and in the Vincennes edition in upper case. In the Preamble, for example, Stout capitalized the initial letter of "Member," "Constitution," "Ordinance," "Territory," and "State Government," which Butler had printed in lower case. The reverse is also true; Stout used lower case where Butler had capitalized an initial letter. Two devices that Stout resorted to for condensation (to save typesetting and paper) were a liberal use of the ampersand and the use of Arabic numerals to express dates and numbers,

[27] Florence Wilson Houston, Laura Cowan Blaine, Ella Dunn Mellette, *Maxwell History and Genealogy* (Indianapolis, c1916), p. 96.

for example, in Article III, Section 2: "2," "1820," "21," "25," "36," "22,000," "36," and "100." All of these were spelled out in the Louisville edition. In all but two places, Stout italicized the word or words that were italicized in that edition. There are two exceptions: Article I, Section 1: "*We declare*" is in small capitals in the Louisville edition; in Article V, Section 11 "*against the peace and dignity of the same*" is not italicized in the latter.

Stout attempted to improve on the signatures of the delegates, and also placed the name of the county before the delegates' names rather than after as Butler had done. Butler had followed the signatures as they appeared in the manuscripts: "Fred. Rapp," "Nathl. Hunt," "Jno. Johnson," "Wm. Polke," "Dann Lynn." Stout printed them: "Frederick," "Nathaniel," "John," "William" and "Daniel." In addition he misspelled the names of John Badollet and John Benefiel, which Butler had printed correctly, as "Badollot" and "Benefield." Butler had misread the signature of B. Parke as "R. Parke," but Stout printed it "Benjamin Parke."

In all other respects the Vincennes edition followed the Louisville edition. The arrangement of the printed matter: title-page, Preamble, constitution, signature of delegates and Ordinance, is the same. Stout italicized where Butler had italicized and with some few exceptions—chiefly dropped commas—followed Butler's system of punctuation. He copied Butler's error in Article IV, Section 8, and printed "officers" instead of the correct "offices."

With all these differences, one might well ask if it could not have been possible for Stout to have set his types for his edition from some source unknown to us. Perhaps a manuscript was brought back from Corydon by one of the delegates from Knox County who turned it over to Stout for his use. We do know that five assistant secretaries were employed by the Convention whose duty it was to make a copy of each article of the constitution as the various committees reported to the Convention.[28] If a delegate had kept these twelve articles of the constitution as changed and amended, he would thus have had the whole of the completed constitution. It is not known if copies of the Preamble, Ordinance and a roster of delegates were similarly furnished the delegates.

There is other evidence to prove that Stout did not have an unknown copy from which to print his edition of the *Constitution*. If he had received a copy from one of the Knox county delegates he would not have stated in his newspaper on July 20, and again as late as August 17, 1816, that

[28] *Journal*, June 12, pp. 12-13.

he had not yet seen a copy of the constitution.[29] Finally, it was his custom to advertise in *The Western Sun,* many issues ahead, any of his contemplated publications. The fact that he did not do so for his *Constitution* would seem to indicate that a copy of the Louisville edition came into his hands between the issues for August 17 and August 24, and the idea of publishing it was carried into effect between them.

The Convention directed that a printed copy of the *Constitution* be sent to the President of the United States, President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of Representatives. It can be assumed that this directive referred to the Louisville edition, which was the official version, the one which Congress would examine for the Territory's admittance into the Union as a state. The Washington edition is similar to the Louisville edition in all details, excepting the variations which can be noted in the title-pages and in the capitalization of the first letter in a few words in the Preamble. The arrangement of contents is identical. Capitalization and punctuation are the same, except for a few minor variations due to the mistakes of the compositor. The use of italics is identical in both copies. The only liberty taken by the compositor was in spelling out the abbreviated "Nathl." to "Nathaniel" in the given name of the delegate Hunt.

The irritating possibility exists that Butler used neither of the extant manuscript copies for his printed edition, but was furnished with a printer's copy by the Convention. That would (so it appears 137 years later) have been a more logical method of getting such an important and vital manuscript transformed into print. When, however, conjectured "possibility" and assumed "logical method" leave no trace, ever so faint, in the form of historical records, the alternative is to take the few, scattered bits of evidence that do exist and attempt to reconstruct, logically, the seemingly illogical actions of the past. If Mann Butler did not use the State and Smith Library manuscripts as copy for the first printed edition of the *Constitution* of 1816, what manuscript could he have used?

In many instances the first edition of a publication is the one most sought after by the book collector, and quite frequently it is the edition most difficult to obtain. While the Louisville imprint is a most desirable title and one that would normally make the collector of Americana happy, the Vincennes edition is the most avidly sought for of the three 1816 editions. The element of scarcity must be the primary explanation. There are at least six copies extant of the Louisville edition. The Library of Congress, the Library of the Indiana Historical Society, The New York Public Li-

[29] *The Western Sun,* July 20 and August 17, 1816.

brary, and the Law Library of Harvard University each owns one. Judge Curtis Shake of Vincennes is the proud possessor of a copy, and there was another in the collection of the late Clyde C. Rickes of Laporte, Indiana. While no exhaustive survey has been made, only one copy of the Vincennes edition has been located, and that is in the Library of Congress. Copies of the Washington edition cannot be considered scarce, and are fairly easy to obtain even today in the antiquarian book market.

Cecil K. Byrd

Indiana University Library

Le Journal Polytype des Sciences et des Arts

Pre-revolutionary Paris was the scene of the printing and publication of a short-lived, but interesting and little-known periodical called *Journal Polytype des Sciences et des Arts*. It was printed and published by an Alsatian named François Ignace Joseph Hoffmann[1] and produced by his newly invented process of polytyping, for which he had been accorded an exclusive governmental license. Bachaumont[2] mentions this fact; records correctly that the first issue appeared on February 20, 1784; and states that the journal was edited by a board consisting of a number of eminent men of science and letters. It has not been possible to trace the names of any of the members of this alleged board of editors, and it may well be that it never had any real existence.

Hoffmann was closely associated in his printing work with the Abbé Rochon,[3] and both men were well known to Thomas Jefferson, who mentions their efforts in letters written in 1786 to Franklin, Rittenhouse, Hopkinson, Currie and others. On May 5, 1805, we find Jefferson writing to his bookseller, Reibelt of Philadelphia, in the following terms:

> . . . the two pieces you sent me on printing & the polytypage are so curious, & on so interesting an art, that I propose to keep them with your leave. I knew Hoffmann well, went often to see his work, & was intimate with the Abbé Rochon

[1] No biographical data on Hoffmann can be found.

[2] Louis Petit de Bachaumont, *Mémoires secrets pour servir à l'histoire de la république des lettres en France depuis MDCCLXII jusqu'à nos jours ou Journal d'un observateur* (Londres, 1788), 31 (March 31, 1786), 205-207.

[3] Alexis Marie Rochon (1741-1817) was a French astronomer and scientist who devoted much time and effort to stereotyping; he wrote an *Essai d'Imprimerie présenté à l'Académie Royale des Sciences le 8 de* [*sic*] *Février 1786*, and a copy of this broadside is to be found among the Jefferson papers in the Library of Congress. See *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson* compiled with annotations by E. Millicent Sowerby (Washington, D. C., The Library of Congress, 1952), I, 516. (No. 1136, [footnote].)

JOURNAL POLYTYPE DES SCIENCES ET DES ARTS.

PARTIE DES ARTS UTILES.

Année 1786.

TOME PREMIER.

A PARIS,
De l'Imprimerie POLYTYPE, rue Favart,
Où l'on ſouſcrit.

Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi.

Title-page of *Journal Polytype des Sciences et des Arts*, "Partie des Arts utiles."

JOURNAL POLYTYPE DES SCIENCES ET DES ARTS.

PARTIE DES ARTS AGREABLES.

Année 1786.

TOME PREMIER.

A PARIS,
De l'Imprimerie POLYTYPE, rue Favart,
Où l'on ſouſcrit.

Avec Approbation & Privilège du Roi.

Title-page of *Journal Polytype des Sciences et des Arts*, "Partie des Arts agréables."

having myself tried several of his processes; so that the facts in that portion of the history are well known to me . . .[4]

He apparently is referring to Camus'[5] book on polytyping and stereotyping,[6] which contains a full account of Hoffmann's operations. A copy of this was included in a bill given by Reibelt to Jefferson in June 1805, and was probably one of two unnamed books sent to Jefferson on May 3. Franklin, as might be anticipated, was interested in the new printing process: his correspondence has several items in reference to Hoffmann, including a page with an ornamental heading, showing the new art of polytyping invented by Hoffmann.[7]

Hoffmann's process of *polytypage* has been clearly and succinctly described by Kubler.[8]

> With a page composed of type in the usual manner, he made an impression on a mass of soft fatty earth mixed with plaster of Paris or gypsum, and prepared with a glutinous paste of syrup of gum and potato starch. This impression became a matrix, into which a composition of lead, bismuth, and tin being pressed at the moment of casting, gave plates which exhibited in relief, facsimiles of the types which had been used to form the matrix. The impossibility of sinking each single letter absolutely in the same horizontal direction and in the same depth into the matrix composition, in connection with other relatively unimportant drawbacks, convinced contemporaries that this method was entirely impracticable and unserviceable. The apparatus used for Polytyping somewhat resembled a pile driver.
>
> A further practice of Hoffmann was that he formed two sorts of types or puncheons; one for detached letters, and the other for letters collected into the syllables most frequently occurring in the French language. This was simply following up Johnson's independent discovery of logography.

Hatin[9] states that seven volumes of the *Journal Polytype* were issued between 1784 and 1786. This is incorrect; there were seven volumes issued,

[4] *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, op. cit.*, p. 515, No. 1136.

[5] Armand Gaston Camus (1740-1804) was a French politician and philosopher who held the official position of keeper of the archives of the republic. According to law, none of the operations of producing *mandats* could take place except in his presence, and he therefore acquired a complete practical knowledge of the art of stereotyping.

[6] A. G. Camus, *Histoire et procédés du polytypage et du stéréotypage* (Paris, 1802). Two issues were published in that year.

[7] *Calendar of the Papers of Benjamin Franklin in the Library of the University of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1908); items ix, 58, 59.

[8] A. Kubler, *A New History of Stereotyping* (New York, 1941), p. 48.

[9] L. E. Hatin, *Bibliographie de la presse périodique française* (Paris, 1866), p. 51.

La défaite d'*Antée* par *Hercule*, eſt le ſeul mouvement d'ambition que préſente la *Mauritanie* dans les ſiècles fabuleux ; c'eſt à ce Héros qu'on fait preſque remonter l'ancienneté de *Tingis*, aujourd'hui *Tanger*, ou du moins à ſon fils *Sophax*, comme on le verra en parlant de cette ville.

Deſcription de la Mauritanie dans les premiers tems.

La *Mauritanie*, étoit dans les premiers ſiècles, une partie conſidérable de la *Lybie* ; mais ayant été diviſée enſuite en *Tingitane* & *Céſarienne*, la *Mauritanie Tingitane*, par uſage, en a ſeule conſervé le nom. La Rivière *Malva*, *Mulluvia*, ou *Mullucha* qui ſépare aujourd'hui le Royaume d'Alger de celui de Maroc, ſéparoit également la *Mauritanie Céſarienne* de la *Mauritanie Tingitane* ; à peu de diſtance de la *Mulluvia*, il y avoit anciennement une ville appellée *Mollochat* ; en ſuivant la côte vers l'oueſt eſt le *Ryſſadirium* des anciens, qu'on ſuppoſe dans l'emplacement où eſt aujourd'hui *Mélille*. Les villes d'*Acrat* & de *Yagat*, ſéparées par l'*Oleaſtrum Promontorium*, ſemblent répondre aux places peu importantes d'*Alhouſema* & *Veles de Pennon*. M. *D'Anville* penſe que le *Yagat* de *Ptolémée* convient à la ſituation de *Tetuan* ; mais je crois cette dernière place de quinze à

Numéro 1.

SUR LES MAURES. 69

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Numéro 2.

Specimen page from *Journal Polytype des Sciences et des Arts*, "Partie des Arts utiles," Vol. 1, No. 6, pp. 104-114, showing comparative specimens of printing by conventional methods and by polytyping. The next issue (Vol. 1, No. 7, p. 129) states that specimen *Numéro 1* has been polytyped and *Numéro 2* printed normally.

but these were actually published in the form of 134 numbers in 1786, and eighteen more numbers in 1787. The first number appeared on Monday, February 29, 1786, and the last on Friday, February 9, 1787.

Many details regarding the method of printing used by Hoffmann are given by Camus,[10] who evidently went to considerable trouble to collect information, and who also reproduces reprintings made from several of Hoffmann's original plates which he found to be still in existence. Camus points out that Hoffmann really should not receive credit for having invented the process of polytyping; in point of fact, he simply appropriated the process previously developed by the printer Ged of Edinburgh.

Hoffmann's printing activities were relatively brief. Hatin[11] asserts that his license was granted on December 14, 1784, and Bachaumont[12] also refers to this, recording that the *Journal Polytype* had started appearing on February 20, 1786, although he gives December 5, 1785, as the date of the issue of the license.[13] Bachaumont also mentions[14] that by a royal decree of February 15, 1787, Hoffmann had been forbidden to continue printing, but that on March 10 of the same year a further decree had given him permission to keep on working, but had warned him to conform strictly to the regulations imposed upon him. There is a good deal of evidence that the trade of printer in Paris was very much of a closed profession at this time. Hoffmann, as a newcomer, had to fight the hostility of those already established in the printing business, and it is likely that it was this competition which was responsible for his troubles with the authorities. Unfortunately, Hoffmann, who was assisted in business by his son, could apparently not resist becoming involved in contentious matters. Bachaumont records[15] that considerable excitement had been caused by the circulation, from the polytype presses, of a letter written by Buffon to the Marquise de Sillery on the occasion of the publication of her *Réligion considérée comme l'unique base du bonheur et de la véritable philosophie* (Paris, 1787).[16] The pamphlet apparently received much publicity, and

[10] A. G. Camus, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-52.

[11] *Op. cit.*, *loc. cit.*

[12] *Op. cit.*, March 31, 1786.

[13] *Op. cit.*, October 21, 1787.

[14] *Op. cit.*, March 30, 1787.

[15] *Op. cit.*, April 24, 1787.

[16] Stéphanie Félicité Ducrest de Saint Aubin Genlis, marquise de Sillery (1746-1830) was a distinguished French writer and educator. She supervised the education of the children of the Duke of Chartres (son of the Duke of Orléans) at the *Palais Royal*, and wrote several works for her pupils, one of whom was Louis Philippe, later King of France. She anticipated many modern methods of teaching.

caused the worthy marquise great annoyance. She probably used her influence to draw the attention of the authorities to the fact that the press was publishing material beyond the scope of its license, and this may have helped to shut it down. In any case, Bachaumont further records[17] that the *polytypage* press had for some time been generally suspected of printing a number of the many current clandestine, and often scurrilous, pamphlets relating to the government and other personages of the day. As a result of this, a decree ordering Hoffmann to desist from printing had been issued for the second time. According to Bachaumont, this time the presses had been sealed up by the police, and he doubted whether permission would ever be given for their reopening. Bachaumont's forebodings were evidently only too fully borne out, and he further states[18] that the closure of the printing establishment had been definitive and permanent. He later suggests[19] that not only had Hoffmann certainly been guilty of improperly publishing a certain amount of contentious material, but that he had also been foolish enough to do some printing with ordinary movable type instead of restricting himself solely to the use of polytyping for which, and only for which, his license had been issued.

As originally planned and produced, the *Journal Polytype* consisted of three separate and distinct parts: one section, *Partie des Sciences,* which was issued on Mondays; another, *Partie des Arts utiles,* which was issued on Wednesdays; and a third, *Partie des Arts agréables,* which appeared on Fridays. Beginning with No. 4 (March 17, 1786), the latter was renamed *Belles-lettres et Arts agréables.* Each section appeared once a week, and was paginated continuously. Beginning with No. 58 (Monday, July 3, 1786), the three sections were combined into one periodical containing material on all three subjects previously printed separately, the intention being to produce a number of the magazine every Monday, Wednesday and Friday. This arrangement permitted very rapid publication of material or of news of current interest. This schedule was maintained until publication was stopped, and it may be noted that six volumes made up one year's issues.

No interest seems to have been shown by recent historians in the content of this periodical, and this may well be due to its rarity. No copy is listed in the *Union List of Serials,* although a set is included in the *Catalogue* of the Jefferson Library.[20] As a source of current scientific, artistic and technical thought, practice and achievement, the journal compares quite

[17] *Op. cit.,* October 8, 1787.

[18] *Op. cit.,* October 21, 1787.

[19] *Op. cit.,* December 8, 1787.

[20] *Catalogue of the Library of Thomas Jefferson, op. cit.,* p. 500, No. 1096.

favorably with the much better-known and longer-lived *Journal de Paris.*

Each volume of the *Journal Polytype* is embellished by an attractive engraved, allegorical frontispiece. Each issue also contains at least one engraved plate relating to one of the subjects dealt with in the number.

The subject matter of a random selection from among the plates presents a good idea of the wide variety of topics treated: the natural bridge (near Roanoke) Virginia; the duke of Cumberland's house in Brighthelmstone (Brighton, England); the court costumes worn in Sweden; theatrical costumes worn in various plays; current medallic portraiture (including a medal of Benjamin Franklin); an electric torpedo fish; Eskimos in Siberia; improved forms of a corn mill, plough, non-smoking chimney, printing press, electrical machine, jack and chaff cutter; an aerostat (balloon); plans for a new Hôtel-Dieu (hospital).

Numerous reviews of current scientific, philosophical and literary books are given. Poems by contemporary authors as well as a number of pieces of music are to be found, and current performances at the leading Paris theatres are described.

Especial scientific significance, however, is given to the publication from the fact that France's greatest scientist, Antoine Laurent Lavoisier (1743-1794), chose it as the vehicle for a paper[21] which appeared for the first time in the second issue of the *Partie des Sciences.* This paper has already been analyzed and described elsewhere.[22] It deals with noteworthy experimental work undertaken by Lavoisier and Meusnier, with a view to providing incontrovertable confirmation of the composition of water, and is the only scientific paper of major importance to be found in the *Journal Polytype.*

The reasons for which Lavoisier chose this comparatively obscure and new periodical in which to publish so important a memoir have always been ignored by his biographers,[23] who do not even seem to have found the circumstances worthy of comment.

[21] "Développement des dernières Expériences sur la décomposition & recomposition de l'eau, faites par MM. Lavoisier & Meusnier." *Journal Polytype,* I (27 Février, 1786), 21-44; 1 plate. See D. I. Duveen and H. S. Klickstein, *A Bibliography of the Works of Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, 1743-1794* (London, 1954), item 93.

[22] *Catalogue of Printed Works by and Memorabilia of Antoine Laurent Lavoisier, 1743-1794 ... Exhibited at the Grolier Club* [prepared by D. I. Duveen and H. S. Klickstein] (New York, 1952), item 33; see above, footnote 21.

[23] E. Grimaux, *Lavoisier, 1743-1794* (Paris, 1888, 1896, 1899); J. A. Cochrane, *Lavoisier* (London, 1931); D. McKie, *Antoine Lavoisier, the Father of Modern Chemistry* (London, 1935); and *Antoine Lavoisier, Scientist, Economist, Social Reformer* (New York, 1952); S. J. French, *Torch & Crucible, the Life and Death of Antoine Lavoisier* (Princeton, 1941).

The fact is that Lavoisier was much interested in the improvement of current French agricultural practices, and well aware of the great social benefits to be derived from such improvements. A necessary step for such progress to be effective was to see to it that the results of research and observation were made cheaply and readily available to the farmers. Lavoisier was the guiding spirit of the enlightened, practical but somewhat ineffective *Comité d'Administration de l'Agriculture*. In the minutes of the *Comité*[24] Lavoisier complains of the high cost of printing—especially that done by the Royal Press. He considered that this was a serious obstacle to dissemination of information on the best methods of farming. The Hoffmann process had evidently been drawn to his attention, and Lenglen[25] prints a portion of a manuscript by Lavoisier dated 1785, in which he specifically points out the advantages to be derived from using this method for printing agricultural instructions. He envisaged the plates being cast in, say, Paris and then distributed to the provinces, each of which would print therefrom the necessary copies for their own use. Lavoisier realized that in the provinces paper and labor would be cheaper, and freight charges would be saved.

The *Oeuvres de Lavoisier* prints an unpublished manuscript by Lavoisier,[26] in which he stresses the value of the process of *polytypage* and points out that it should prove especially useful in the printing of *assignats*. Lavoisier here suggests to the *Commission des assignats* that they should recommend the adoption of this method of printing.

There is little doubt that it was the desire to encourage and promote the success of Hoffmann's process which caused Lavoisier to use the *Journal Polytype* as a medium for the publication of so important a scientific memoir.

Denis I. Duveen, *New York City, N. Y., and*
Herbert S. Klickstein, *Institute of the History of Medicine, The Johns Hopkins University*

[24] H. Pigeonneau and A. de Foville, *L'Administration de l'Agriculture au contrôle général des Finances (1785-1787)* (Paris, 1882), p. 161. See D. I. Duveen and H. S. Klickstein, *A Bibliography . . . , op. cit.*, item 278.

[25] M. Lenglen, *Lavoisier Agronome* (Paris, 1936), pp. 47-48. Also printed in *Oeuvres de Lavoisier* (Paris, 1862-1893), VI, 227-229. See D. I. Duveen and H. S. Klickstein, *A Bibliography . . . , op. cit.*, item 666.

[26] *Rapport à la Commission des assignats, Oeuvres de Lavoisier* (Paris, 1862-1893), VI, 706-710. See D. I. Duveen and H. S. Klickstein, *A Bibliography . . . , op. cit.*, item 690.

A Problem as to Incunabula of the "Phisionomia" of Michael Scot

In a manuscript at the Vatican,[1] which consists in part of printed editions, the first item is the *Phisionomia* of Michael Scot, translator and astrologer of the early thirteenth century, without statement of date or place of printing, or of printer and publisher, in which respect it resembles most incunabula of that work.[2] It occupies forty-two leaves, with signatures a-a iiii, b-b iiii, c-c iii, d-d iiii, e-e iii, f-f iii. But the title-page is unnumbered in VA 9018 and its verso is blank, so that the work ends at fol. 41r of that manuscript, with fol. 41v also left blank. At fols. 1r-2v is a table of contents of 100 chapters.[3] At fol. 3r (signature a iiii) we read:

> Incipit liber phisionomie quem compilavit magister Michael Scotus ad preces domini Frederici Romanorum Imperatoris, Scientia cuius est multum tenenda in secreto eo quod est magne efficacie continens secreta artis nature que sufficiunt omni astrologo. Et cum hec pars libri phisionomie constet ex tribus partibus hoc est Proemium.[4]

The Proemium then opens with the usual incipit, "Imperator inter cetera quibus te oportet esse sollicitum . . ." and ends on fol. 4v, where opens, "Prima pars libri huius. Capitulum Primum," also with the usual incipit, "Nobilis Imperator, vir gratiose, quasi omnium gratiarum . . ."[5] After twenty-two chapters the first part ends and the second begins at fol. 21v, to which would correspond the signature (c vi) verso, with a Proemium which is also numbered chapter 23.[6] At fol. 29v, to which would correspond the signature (d viii) verso, we read: "Nunc incipit tercia pars in

[1] Vatican Latin MS 9018; henceforth referred to as VA 9018.

[2] Of twenty listed by Arnold C. Klebs, *Incunabula scientifica et medica* (1938), 899.1-20, sixteen are such, while 899.1 gives only the date, 1477, and 899.3 only the place, Louvain.

[3] There are 103 chapters in the edition of Amsterdam, 1740, where Michael Scot's work is entitled, "De secretis naturae," and occupies pp. 204-328 of *Alberti Magni De secretis mulierum libellus, scholiis auctus, et à mendis repurgatus. Eiusdem De virtutibus herbarum, lapidum, et animalium quorundam libellus. Item de mirabilius mundi, ac de quibusdam effectibus causatis a quibusdam animalibus, etc. Adiectum est ob materiae similitudinem Michaelis Scoti, philosophi de secretis naturae opusculum. Cum indice locupletissimo.* Amstelodami, MDCCXL. Copy in Columbia University Library. There is no table of contents for Michael's work.

[4] This passage is not found in the 1740 edition, where instead we have: "MICHAELIS SCOTI rerum naturalium perscrutatoris Prooemium in Secreta Naturae. Ad D. FREDERICUM, Romanorum Imperatorem."

[5] So ed. 1740, p. 208.

[6] In the edition of 1740, p. 260: "Incipit secunda pars secretorum naturae, Cap. xxiii & xxiv."

qua continentur capitula phisionomie in specie utriusque sexus viri et mulieris. Ca. lvi."[7] Finally, at the bottom of fol. 41r, signature (f vi) recto, the work closes, ". . . et hec de Phisionomia que nunc prediximus dicta sufficiant. Michaelis Scoti de procreatione et hominis phisionomia opus feliciter finit."[8]

With this edition in the Vatican manuscript may be compared two incunabula of Scot's work at the library of the New York Academy of Medicine. Both have 102 instead of 100 chapters, and both are assigned to the same printer, Joannes Rubeus of Vercelli, but one is supposed to have been printed at Treviso in 1483, the other at Venice in 1490. Here there arises no little confusion. Klebs listed no Treviso, 1483, edition among his twenty incunabula of the work, of which the only one that he located at the New York Academy of Medicine library was 899.16, described by him as "[Venice, anon. pr. 1492]." On the other hand, Margaret Bingham Stillwell (*Incunabula in American Libraries*, 1940, p. 343, entry M483) identifies Klebs 899.16 with an edition of Venice, Joannes Rubeus Vercellensis, 1486-1499, and with the copy which the New York Academy of Medicine library dates Venice, by Rubeus, 1490, but which it identifies with IAL M487 and Klebs 899.15.

For purposes of clarity and brevity I shall refer to these two incunabula at the New York Academy of Medicine library as Treviso, 1483, and Venice, 1490. Both lack the first leaf, with the signature a and presumably the title. In both the table of contents runs from fol. a ii r to a iii v. But Treviso, 1483, has signatures from a iiii to f iiii, while those of Venice, 1490, run from a iii to g ii. Thus in this respect as well as the number of chapters both differ from the edition in VA 9018. Treviso, 1483, further differs from Venice, 1490, in having fewer lines of text per page, and in filling in the initial letters by hand in alternating red and blue. On fol. (g iii) v, Venice, 1490, closes: "Et haec de Phisionomia quae nunc praediximus dicta sufficiant. Finis." Treviso, 1483, instead of "Finis," continued like the edition in VA 9018, "Michaelis Scoti de procreatione & hominis phisionomia opus feliciter finit." In both these editions the third part opened with chapter 58, instead of 56 as in VA 9018, or 59, as in the edition of 1740.

A word may be added as to the remaining contents of VA 9018. Fol. 42r is blank except for the legend in handwriting, "De cometis pulcer

[7] Ed. 1740, p. 291: "Incipit Tertia Pars, In qua continentur capitula physionomiae in specie utriusque sexus viri & mulieris. Cap. lix."

[8] The edition of 1740, p. 328, ends similarly.

tractatus." There follows at fols. 43r-74r (without signatures) another printed work:

THURECEHSIS:|| PHISICI:|| TR
ACTATUS:|| DE COMETIS:||
INCIPIT

which is dated at its close: ". . . ANNO:|| DOMINI:|| M.CCCC.LXX-IIII HANS: AURL."[9] (This edition is Klebs 972.1. The Vatican copy is not listed in Klebs.)

The rest of VA 9018 is manuscript. Fol. 74v is left blank, as are both sides of the following leaf, which is also numbered 74. On fol. 75r is written:

Propleumata Aristotilis
Secreta mulierum.

After a blank page, fol. 75v, the remainder of the volume is occupied by these two treatises in poor handwriting of the later fifteenth century. The former book of problems, said to have been collected "ex pluribus Aristotilis codicibus," opens at fol. 76r, "Omnes homines naturaliter scire desiderant ut schribit [*sic*] philosophorum princeps 1° methaphysice . . ." and ends at fol. 104v.[10] The *Secreta mulierum*, commonly ascribed to Albertus Magnus, opens at fol. 105r, "Dilecto socio amico domino in tali loco . . ." and closes on fol. 111v, ". . . Et iste causus [*sic*] hodie contingit. Et sic est finis. Explicit textus secretorum mulierum."

LYNN THORNDIKE
Professor Emeritus, Columbia University

[9] I have discussed the work, partly on the basis of this copy, in *A History of Magic and Experimental Science* (New York, 1923-1941), IV, 359-360, 367, 369-370, where I inclined to ascribe it to Conrad Heingarter. But Conrad Gesner, *Bibliotheca universalis* (Tiguri, 1545), fol. 218r, seems to attribute it to Eberhard Schlüsinger of Franconia, a doctor of arts and medicine, and a physician of Zurich who, he says, wrote on comets and judgments from them, and especially on the comet which appeared in 1472. Gesner adds that he also composed an introductory treatise to astrology, especially medical elections, and had it printed in Latin and German. But Gesner does not definitely state that the treatise on comets was printed.

[10] An earlier MS, about A.D. 1421, is Erfurt, Amplon, F.334, fols. 196-205, *Problemata ab Aristotele et aliis de partibus corporum animalium proposita*, with similar incipit.

An Undescribed Printed Poster of 1516

Ulrich, Duke of Württemberg, born in 1487, barely eleven years old when enthroned, is a notorious figure in German history. Related by marriage to the emperor Maximilian I, unfaithful and neglectful as a husband, more than once outlawed by Maximilian (1516, 1518) and at least once by Charles V (1521); frequently a refugee from his own lands, ruthless oppressor of the revolutionary peasants (1514), and later their ally (1525); adherent of Martin Luther and an adventurer throughout his life (he died in 1550), Ulrich attracts our particular attention as a shrewd and clever publicist.

He was deeply involved in a controversy with the Hutten family in 1515 and 1516 which brought him into an argument with an even more successful propagandist, Ulrich von Hutten, famous as a humanist and Protestant pamphleteer. Hanns von Hutten, son of Ludwig and cousin of Ulrich, served as chamberlain at the court of the Duke. Ulrich von Württemberg, so the family charged, coveted Hanns's wife, the daughter of the Lord Chamberlain Thumb; when denied his desires he is said to have murdered Hanns in a forest on May 7, 1515.

Eduard Böcking printed the various manuscripts and printed documents which had been issued in connection with the scandal.[1] They include Ulrich von Hutten's *Orationes* and *Phalarismus* as well as the Duke's lengthy defense, an *Ausschreiben* which was published as a poster. Ulrich von Württemberg declares and explains in great detail that Hanns had been duly executed as a traitor and that, therefore, the family accusations were ill founded.

Böcking reproduced the *Ausschreiben* from an eighteenth-century source, since he was unable to trace a copy of the original:[2]

Archetypum neque Stutgardiae reperiri diligenter inquirenti mihi responsum est.[3]

At least one copy of the original printed document has since come to light, and is now in the possession of the University of Pennsylvania Library.

[1] Ulrich von Hutten, *Schriften*, ed. E. Böcking (Leipzig, Teubner, 1859), I, 46-101; *ibid.*, 1860, IV, 1-26; *ibid.*, 1861, V, 2-96.

[2] "Joh. Ulr. Steinhofers Neue Wirtenberg. Chronik. Viert. Theil. Stuttg. 1755. 8°. S. 266 ... 289. (Minus adcurate quam a Sattlero factum est, hoc exemplum repraesentare archetypum videtur; itaque hunc [nº. 2.] secutus sum.) ... Christian Friedrich Sattlers Geschichte des Herzogthums Würtenberg ... 11 Theil. Ulm 1769. 4°. Beylagen Num. 84. S. 198 ... 211."

[3] Hutten, *Schriften*, *op. cit.*, I, 64.

The "lost" original agrees textually with Böcking's printing. Variants in spelling are frequent, but probably not significant enough to justify the publication of a collated text. The description of the *Ausschreiben* follows:

[AUSSCHREIBEN of Duke Ulrich von Württemberg] Poster printed in two columns. Without indication of place or printer, dated September 6, 1516. Length of printed column I—723 mm, column II—686 mm; width of each column—251 mm. Size of poster ca. 748 x 551 mm.

Not in G. W. Panzer, *Annalen* or E. Weller, *Repertorium typographicum.*

The poster has been repaired in various places by underlaying and pasting. The original state cannot be reconstructed with certainty, nor can the exact method of printing be established beyond doubt. If we hold it to be unlikely that any press available at that time could accommodate a sheet of the size of this poster, the *Ausschreiben* is likely to have been printed in four separate parts, one-half column at a time, and pasted together in the printing shop or by the official charged with mounting the poster. Careful examination of columns I and II indicates that the break between lines 62 and 63 of column I (extending through column II) is definitely the result of a break, since it divides the staffs of several letters. The division between lines 81 and 82, on the other hand, is clear-cut; line 81 is likely to mark the end of the first separately printed sheet. If our conjecture is correct the poster was printed as follows:

Sheet 1 —	column I —	lines 1-81
2 —	I —	82-155
3 —	II —	1-81
4 —	II —	82-147 (of which 65, 119 and 145 are blank).

Column I has been glued on the left-hand margin of column II.

Twenty lines measure 94 mm. The type of paragraph headings is almost exactly twice the size of the text type (six versus three millimeters). I am unable to assign the rather common type to any specific press. Most of Ulrich von Württemberg's official publications were printed in Tübingen. No press is known to have existed there in 1516.

Column I, line 1 begins [*Böcking I, p. 64, line 18*]: (A)Llen vnd ieden Churfürſten: Fürſten: Gaiſtlichen vnd weltlichen: Prelaten: Grauen | [*B. line 19*] Fryen/ Herren/ Ritterſchafft/ Frey vnd Reichſtetten/ Gemeinden/ Vögten/ Amptleüten/ [*B. line 20*] Vitzthumben/ Pflegern/ Schultheiſſen/ Amman | Richtern/ Gerichten/ Räten/ vnd ſunſt [*B. line 21*] Menigklichem. Embieten

wir Vlrich von gottes genaden Hertzog Zů Wirtemberg vnd zů [*B. line 22*] Tegk. Graue zů Mümpelgart 2c. Vnſer freuntlich dienſt.

The initial (A), printed on the margin, measures 20 mm.

Column I, line 155 [*B. 70, line 15*] *ends:* . . . ongewarnet angriffen vnd übereylt.

Column II, lines 1/2 [*B. line 16*] *begins:* Das wir aber [*line 1*] ſeynem todten Cō?pel ain gürtel an den hals gelegt/ Jſt die war[*B. line 17*]hait . . . [*line 2*] entlybung/ Nemlich die obgemelten Boſz[*B. line 18*]wicht ſtuck/ . . .

Column 2, lines 146/147 [*B. 75, line 22*] *ends:* Geben: [*line 146*] Vnnd mit vnſerm Secret zů ende diſz getruckſz beſigelt/ inn vnſer Stat Stůt[*B. line 23*]garten/ vff Sampſtag nach Sanct Egidien | [*line 147*] des hailigen Abts tag. Anno domini Fünff[*B. line 24*]zehenhundert Sechzehene.

Broken seal at end. A contemporary manuscript note on the verso of the poster reads: *Lectu(m) dignissimum,* and in another hand *Defensio ducis Vdalrici Winsbergensis A° 1516.* The condition of the poster is fair.

Rudolf Hirsch

University of Pennsylvania Library

The Reverend Samuel Johnson's "Collection of Prayers" (1759)

On the 31st of October, 1754, a charter in the name of George II was approved by the Lieutenant Governor and Council granting corporate existence to The Governors of the College of the Province of New-York, in the City of New-York, in America. The charter named the first president, "Our Well-beloved Samuel Johnson, Doctor of Divinity,"[1] ordained that "the President of the said College, for the Time being, shall, forever, hereafter, be a Member of, and in Communion with the Church of England, as by Law established," and decreed that as soon as the lands proffered by the Anglican church in the city should be legally conveyed, there should be "erected and made on the said Lands, a College, and other Buildings, and Improvements, for the Use and Conveniency of the

[1] To avoid possible confusion with his contemporary of the same name, it should be stated that the Reverend Samuel Johnson, D.D. (Oxon.), was born October 14, 1696, at Guilford, Connecticut, and died at Stratford, in that state, January 6, 1772. He was graduated from the Collegiate School of Connecticut (afterwards Yale College) in 1714, was ordained as a Congregationalist March 20, 1719-20, and, after a famous change of heart, as an Anglican in March, 1723, at St. Martin-in-the-Fields, London; he was a missionary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in Stratford before and after his presidency of King's College, which lasted from 1754 to 1763.

same; which shall be called and known by the name of King's College, for the Instruction and Education of Youth, in the learned Languages and liberal Arts and Sciences." Near the end of the charter the following paragraph appears:

> And We do further will, ordain and direct, That there shall be forever hereafter, publick Morning and Evening Service, constantly performed in the said College, Morning and Evening, for ever, by the President, Fellows, Professors or Tutors of the said College, or one of them, according to the Liturgy of the Church of *England* as by Law established; or such a Collection of Prayers out of the said Liturgy, with a Collect peculiar for the said College, as shall be approved of, from Time to Time, by the Governors of the said College, or the major Part of any Fifteen or more of them, convened as aforesaid.

The Governors lost no time in carrying out this stipulation. At their second meeting, the meeting at which the Trinity Church lands were accepted, on May 13, 1755, a committee was appointed "to prepare such Devices and Inscription as they shall think proper for the seal of this Corporation And that the said Committee do also make a Proper Collection of Prayers and prepare a Body of Laws rules and regulations for the use and Government of the College and lay the same before this Board with all convenient Speed." The committee consisted of the Mayor of New York, Edward Holland; the Rev. Henry Barclay, rector of Trinity; the Rev. Joannes Ritzema, senior minister of the Reformed Protestant Dutch Church; the Rev. John Albert Weygand, minister of the Lutheran Church; the Rev. Joannes Carle, minister of the French Church; Dr. Johnson, Benjamin Nicoll, John Livingston, and James De Lancey, Jr. —"or any five or more of them." They evidently went to work in earnest, and at the next meeting of the board, June 3, 1755, Messrs. Holland, Barclay, Ritzema, Johnson, Nicoll, and De Lancey presented a report. It was their opinion that "the Device for a Seal produced to this Corporation by Doctor Johnson at the last Meeting" was a proper one, that "the Body of Laws Rules and Regulations," spread in full upon the minutes, was "proper for the Well Ordering and Good Government" of the College, and that "the Collection of Prayers Entituled Morning and Evening Prayers for the College hereunto also annexed [but not copied into the minutes] is a proper Collection of Prayers to be used in the said College." The design for the seal was adopted by the Governors, and continues in use by Columbia University to the present day. The "Laws & Orders," *i.e.*, the statutes, were adopted without change. The prayer

book, however, struck a snag, for it was "Ordered that the Collection of Prayers proposed by the Committee aforesaid be reconsidered by them and that they make a report thereon after such reconsideration of the matter." No further word appears in the minutes on this subject.

The founding of King's College was attended by a long and heated religious and political controversy, which was in full swing at this time.[2] Presbyterians in the provincial assembly, resenting the Anglican majority given to the college by the charter, still blocked the transferring of the funds raised by public lottery to endow the institution. A split had occurred in the Dutch Reformed Church over the college, and Domine Ritzema had been censured by the Consistory of New York for collaborating with the Anglicans. The unwillingness of the Governors to formalize the Anglican character of the college by the official adoption of a prayer book can easily be understood.

Nevertheless, Dr. Johnson, teaching the whole curriculum that first year to eight freshmen in the English charity schoolhouse on Rector Street, was not a man to shirk his charter duties. Two manuscript collections in his handwriting now exist in the Columbia archives, made up of original prayers by Dr. Johnson and selections from the *Book of Common Prayer*. The earlier one (17 pages, 7½ by 5 inches), is entitled "Morning & Evening Prayers for the College," and contains the collect specified by the charter, composed by Johnson and called "A Prayer Peculiar to the College."[3] The second manuscript (13 pages, 9½ by 7½ inches), differs in several respects, but includes "A Collect for a College," which has been enlarged to include mention of "the Governors of this College, and all our Friends and Benefactors."

By 1759, the new building being erected for the college on the bank of the Hudson at Robinson Street was nearing completion: it was to have its own hall where chapel services could be held. Evidently Dr. Johnson felt that it was time the college had its own prayer book as well. The "college controversy" had died out and the lottery funds had been turned over to the college, although the assembly, in a final display of pettiness, had voted to divide the sum and give half to the city of New York to build

[2] See Beverly McAnear, "American Imprints Concerning King's College," PAPERS, XLIV (1950), 301-339, and Dr. Milton Martin Klein's unpublished Columbia dissertation, "The American Whig: William Livingston of New York" (1954).

[3] This manuscript was printed, not quite in full, in H. W. and C. S. Schneider, eds., *Samuel Johnson ... His Career and Writings* (New York, 1929), IV, 265-271; the manuscript is undated, but the editors tentatively assign it to June, 1755.

a pesthouse. The selection of prayers still had no approval from the college governors, but Johnson could take care of that by omitting the name of King's College from his book and making it a volume for private and family devotional use.

Johnson had William Weyman,[4] printer and publisher of the *New-York Gazette*, import from London two hundred copies in sheets of

THE | PSALTER | OR, | PSALMS of DAVID, | Pointed as they are to be sung or said | in CHURCHES. | [Rule] | With the Order for Morning and Evening | PRAYER Daily throughout the Year. | [Rule] | [Royal arms] | [Rule] | *LONDON*: | Printed by J. and J. MARCH for the Company of | *STATIONERS*. MDCCLIX. [Enclosed in double rule] Unpaged.

Then he revised his second manuscript,[5] added a preface (called "Advertisement" and signed S. J.) on the desirability of family prayer, particularly "as there are a great many Families in this Province that live out of the Way of Public Worship," added "A Prayer for a Family," and had it printed as

A | COLLECTION | OF | PRAYERS, | FOR | MORNING OR EVENING, | OUT OF THE | *LITURGY* | OF THE | *CHURCH* of *ENGLAND*. | Adapted either to | COLLEGES, SCHOOLS, or FAMILIES, | Enlarging or omitting as may be found | convenient. | [Thin rule] | *Pray without ceasing, and in every Thing give Thanks*, &c. | 1 *Thes.* 5. 17, 18. | [Thin and thick rules] | *NEW-YORK*: | Printed and Sold, by WILLIAM WEYMAN, at | the New-Printing-Office in *Broad-Street*, not | far from the EXCHANGE. 1759. 24 pages.

The date of printing was subsequent to the 14th of May, 1759, when Weyman announced his removal to Broad Street, but no notice of the publication of the psalter-prayer book was made in the *Gazette*. The two items were bound together, the Psalter first, in calfskin over thin boards, making a flexible book. The Columbia copy measures 6 by $3\frac{13}{16}$ inches, and is without end papers. It is inscribed in Johnson's handwriting: "Sa. William Johnson | his Book. 1767 | given by his Grandfather." Samuel William Johnson (Yale, 1779) was then six years old.

[4] Weyman was more or less the college printer at that time. He (with James Parker) had printed the college charter (1754) and the additional charter (1755). The official notices calling meetings of the Board of Governors, as well as college announcements, were published in the *Gazette*.

[5] This manuscript was actually used in the composition of the *Collection of Prayers*, and carries the printer's marks and scribblings. It is followed exactly in the printed volume. The "Advertisement" and the "Prayer for a Family" do not appear in the manuscript.

Dr. Johnson lived in great fear of the smallpox, and more than once had left the city when that disease was current. In 1763 there was another epidemic, and this time he resigned (March 1) and retired permanently to Stratford. Weyman had not been paid. His undated bill[6] was presented to the Governors at the meeting of May 10, 1763:

Dr President of King's College Dr Johnson	
To the Import of 200 Psalters, in Sheets, binding them here, allow'd at 14/6 per Dozen, so that 16 Dozen & 8 Psalters, is	£11 13 8
To printing an Addition of Prayers that is added to the Psalters, of one Sheet and an half, at 35/	2 12 6
To Paper for Do at 15/ per Ream	0 11 3
	£14 17 5
Ct By Sale of 45 Psalters, or 3 Dozen and 9 @ 14/6 per Dozen	2 14 4½
	£12 3 0½

The treasurer was authorized to pay the account upon the delivery of the books to the librarian of the college.

The Columbia copy of the psalter-prayer book came to the university in 1914, when the Johnson family library, the papers of the Reverend Samuel Johnson, and certain papers of his son, the Honorable William Samuel Johnson, president of Columbia College after the Revolution, were given by their descendants. Although two hundred copies of this book were made up and forty-five were sold by the printer, I have not only been unable to locate another copy, but have not found the item recorded in any bibliography, library catalogue, or imprint list. Letters addressed to likely libraries here and in England all drew negative answers. Dr. Nelson R. Burr of the Library of Congress, an expert in Anglican history, made a careful search of sources in Washington without finding a trace of the book. None of the writers on Anglican liturgical works in the United States had heard of it, and it appears from examination of these volumes that Johnson's *Collection of Prayers* has another distinction besides its rarity: it is one of only two printings of any part of the Church of England *Book of Common Prayer* made in the American colonies, the other being William Bradford's New York edition of 1710. Gilbert H. Doane,

[6] College Papers, Columbiana, Columbia University.

Director of the University of Wisconsin Libraries, has found in Thomas Bradbury Chandler's *Life of Samuel Johnson, D.D.*, written before the Revolution and printed in New York in 1805, what is apparently the only mention of the book in print.

As soon as the college was established by charter, Dr. Johnson proceeded vigorously in bringing things into method and order. He drew up the form for the daily prayers, which he extracted from the Liturgy, and got them printed with the Psalms. . . .

Milton Halsey Thomas

Columbia University

Book Reviews

A Catalogue of Books in the Bristol Reference Library printed in England and Ireland up to the year 1640 and of English books printed abroad during the same period. Bristol, 1954. 52 pp. 10 x 6 inches. 500 copies printed. 4s. 6d.

The title succinctly sets forth the nature of this booklet. According to the Introduction: "This survey disclosed that there were 300 titles in the Bristol Reference Library which were listed in Pollard and Redgrave and 51 titles not so listed." Four religious books "not in STC" are entered under Samuel Crooke. (In connection with this, incidentally, one wonders why Wing used the variant Crook against the established preference of DNB, STC and the British Museum's general catalogue.)

The *Promptorium puerorum* (Duff 352) by Pynson, 1499, is the only incunable in the list, but this is a fascinating book which still preserves its ancient riddle. Who was the "Petrus post Pascha" (Peter Efterester, Nachostern, etc.?) cited in the colophon, and why has his identity so long escaped the bibliographers? As one of the financial backers of this book, he must have been a man of some means. A nice run of the works of James Shirley is the most extensive series in the Bristol Reference Library. Twenty-eight editions, exclusive of variant issues, are listed by STC; of this total, Bristol possesses twenty-four.

Time was not found to check whether or not all books without STC references in the text were included in the 51 books not in Pollard and Redgrave noted in the preface. If this be so, then the total of such books may well have to be reduced. On p. 18, for example, the herbal by Dodoens of 1578 certainly seems to be the same edition as STC 6984; on p. 27, Johnson's *Mercurius botanicus* (1634) may well be STC 14704; and on p. 34, the *Breviate of the Prelates Intollerable Usurpations* by William Prynne (1637) appears to be described by STC 20454. Two misprints came to the reviewer's notice: the last item on p. 8 (STC 2070) records the spelling "archpysshop" where both the Morgan copy (PML

913) and Darlow and Moule (I, 26, 30) have "archbysshop." Similarly, the date under the entry for Nicholas Fuller (STC 11461) should be 1616, not 1626.

Apart from these criticisms, the catalogue of STC books in the Bristol Reference Library is very satisfactory. Unquestionably it will prove itself useful in making Bristol's holdings known to scholars, librarians and booksellers, and the bibliographers will be impressed by a collection of most interesting titles.

CURT F. BÜHLER

The Pierpont Morgan Library

The Rosenwald Collection. A Catalogue of Illustrated Books and Manuscripts, of Books from Celebrated Presses, and of Bindings and Maps, 1150-1950. The Gift of Lessing J. Rosenwald to the Library of Congress. Washington, 1954. vi, 292 pp. Frontispiece. 10½ x 8 inches.

In January of 1946 Mr. Lessing J. Rosenwald, in a formal deed of gift, presented to the Library of Congress a spectacular collection of almost sixteen hundred books, manuscripts and maps. Several years before this collection had been assembled, Mr. Rosenwald had, in his own words, "been inoculated with the virus, which forever dooms one to the incurable disease, 'Collectiana,' and had started to assemble a print 'cabinet.'" From outstanding examples of fifteenth-century print-making, Mr. Rosenwald progressed naturally and happily to illustrated books of all periods, thereby forming two collections which supplemented each other in a particularly felicitous manner. At the same time that the books and manuscripts were presented to the Library of Congress, the prints were given to the National Gallery of Art, and although the two collections are actually housed in Mr. Rosenwald's Alverthorpe Gallery at Jenkintown, Pennsylvania, they may be consulted there or at the Library of Congress and even drawn upon for exhibition elsewhere.

The cataloguing of the collection was begun by the Library of Congress in 1947, and Mr. Frederick R. Goff, Chief of the Rare Books Division, edited the cards for the printer. The volume that has just been handsomely produced by the Government Printing Office represents the Rosenwald Collection as it was at the end of 1952, for the donor, unable or perhaps unwilling to be cured of his delightful affliction, continued to make munificent additions to his original gift.

The first section of the printed catalogue contains thirteen medieval and Renaissance manuscripts, and the second describes no fewer than nine block books. The third section, devoted to 403 incunabula, is arranged first by country and then by date, as is also the following section of 359 sixteenth-century books. After a description of five sixteenth-century maps, there follows an account, with tables, of De Bry's Collection of "Great and Small Voyages," with asterisks indicating the fifty-nine issues or editions present in the Rosenwald Collection. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century items (respectively 99 and 104 in number) again are arranged by country and date, and these are followed by sections devoted to the works of William Blake (63); nineteenth-century books, manuscripts, engravings and drawings (50); Kelmscott Press books (54); twentieth-century books, manuscripts, engravings, drawings and stamps (108); and finally a selection from the reference collection (288). Five indices—authors, editors, etc.; printers and presses; artists and engravers; provenance; binders and binding—add immeasurably to the usefulness of this catalogue.

Unquestionably the most important single item in the entire collection is the Giant Bible of Mainz. This two-volume manuscript, begun on April 4, 1452, and completed on July 9, 1453, is written on extraordinarily large sheets of the purest vellum and exquisitely decorated with borders of animals, birds, flowers and, occasionally, human figures. Of the nine block books, there are three *Ars Moriendi*, one *Ars Memorandi*, and one *Biblia Pauperum*, all printed about 1470. Other incunabula include the *Constitutiones* of Clemens V, printed on vellum by Fust and Schoeffer in 1460 (one of sixty-one books printed on vellum in the Rosenwald Collection); Dante's *La Commedia* (Florence, 1481), with all nineteen engravings after designs by Botticelli; and sixteen volumes printed by William Caxton, including Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae* (*ca.* 1478); *Dicta Philosophorum.* English (*ca.* 1479?) and Jacobus de Varagine's *Legenda Aurea* (after 1483).

Three of the most interesting sixteenth-century volumes are the *Theuerdank* (Nuremberg, 1517), two copies, one on vellum; the first edition of Hans Holbein's *Dance of Death* (Lyons, 1538); and Thomas Harriot's *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (Frankfurt-am-Main, 1590).

Of the sixty-three items in the section devoted to the works of William Blake, twenty-one are illuminated books. These include *America, A Prophecy* (with three unique cancelled plates), *The Book of Ahania*, three

issues of *The Book of Thel*, *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, *Songs of Innocence*, and two issues of *Songs of Innocence and of Experience*. There are also facsimiles of the illuminated books, books illustrated by Blake, engravings, original drawings, and manuscripts.

One of the highlights of the later nineteenth-century material is the complete collection of Kelmscott Press books, many printed on vellum, while another is the James McNeill Whistler Collection. The latter contains over one hundred letters and manuscripts.

As Mr. Goff points out in his introduction, the chief function of this volume is to serve as a finding list of material in the Rosenwald Collection. By printing the Library of Congress cards such a function is easily fulfilled, but many bibliographers and book collectors will wish that a more elaborate description (especially of the material before 1700) could have been supplied. Even within the framework of the catalogue cards, there is a certain unevenness in the details of bibliographical description, regretfully explained by Mr. Goff as the result of the simplified cataloguing rules adopted by the Library of Congress in 1947. There also seems to be some confusion in arranging the notes in such a way as to identify the Rosenwald copy when there are other copies of the same book in the Library of Congress. Although this is not (and does not pretend to be) the detailed account that the Rosenwald Collection deserves, it is a convenient and effective introduction to its treasures and a sure means of inspiring the deepest gratitude towards Mr. Rosenwald for his incomparable gift to our national library.

Marjorie G. Wynne

Yale University Library

Bennett, Josephine Waters. *The Rediscovery of Sir John Mandeville*. New York, The Modern Language Association of America, 1954. xii, 436 pp. Plates. 8¼ x 5¼ inches. $6.70.

The conventional theory about Sir John Mandeville and his *Travels*, developed by pundits in their *Beiträge* over the past century, runs something like this:

(1) There never was a John Mandeville, and even if there had been, he would have been only a Liége doctor named Jean de Bourgogne, or Jean à la Barbe.

(2) Jean de Bourgogne never travelled anywhere in his life, and never wrote the *Travels* at all, but he had a friend named Jean d'Outremeuse who probably was the author.

(3) At all events, the *Travels* is merely a plagiarism of Pliny, Solinus, Odoric of Pordenone and other sources, and is nothing but a pack of lies anyway.

The first broadside fired at this bizarre form of deductive reasoning was by Malcolm Letts (the President of the Hakluyt Society) in his *Sir John Mandeville, The Man and his Book* (London, 1949), in which he propounded the theory that Mandeville was a real Englishman who probably did travel in the Near East, and who wrote the book in Liége under the alias of Jean de Bourgogne. Now Mrs. Bennett has come forward with the still more revolutionary theory that Mandeville was a real Englishman; that he probably travelled in the Near East (for even the most devoted Mandevillian does not claim that he got east of Syria); that he never went anywhere near Liége, and that he returned to England (to St. Albans or the neighborhood), where he wrote his book in Norman-French. In doing so, she has written the best bibliographical detective story that the present reviewer has ever come across.

Mrs. Bennett builds up her thesis by a careful classification of French manuscripts, which no one has done before. Hitherto, scholars have regarded the celebrated Paris ms. (in the Bibliothèque Nationale, dated 1371) as the oldest and best text: the master ms., in fact. Now Mrs. Bennett has isolated a group of some twenty manuscripts in Norman-French, most of them written in English hands at a very early date, and most of them reposing in English libraries since time immemorial. The conclusion is that these represent the original text as written by Mandeville himself. That there probably was a John Mandeville, she proves by a detailed tracing of the Mandeville genealogy; that he at least travelled to the Near East appears from scraps of evidence in his book, especially in the writing about Cyprus and Palestine, scraps which, though slight in themselves, make a cumulative body of proof when put together; and that Mandeville wrote the book in Norman-French on his return to England Mrs. Bennett concludes from its textual relation to the English versions, which are much closer to the Norman-French than they are to the Paris-French or Ogier-Liége French versions. Her theory is that Mandeville wrote his narrative in Norman-French in the mid-1350's: a logical thesis, since in pre-Chaucerian days it was the literary language of England, which even Gower did not disdain to use in his *Speculum Meditantis*. French prisoners of noble rank, taken at Poitiers, became acquainted with the work during their captivity, and upon their release at the Treaty of Bretigny in 1360, they took copies of the *Travels* back to France where a

pure French redaction was made, best known by the Paris ms. of 1371. From this Paris-French version the Velser-German, Italian, and Spanish manuscripts descend, but no known English version. Then a decade or so later, in the 1380's, a Liége chronicler, Jean d'Outremeuse, got hold of the book in its Paris-French transcription; made a second redaction, liberally interlarded with interpolations from the Ogier le Danois legend (best represented in the Chantilly ms.); and fathered the result on a dead Liége doctor, Jean de Bourgogne. From this Ogier-Liége redaction the Otto von Diemeringen German and the so-called Latin Vulgate versions descend; and it is this redaction which has long confused scholars.

In other words, d'Outremeuse was the villain of the piece: an incorrigible prankster of the same ilk as William Henry Ireland, John Payne Collier, and Thomas J. Wise. Jean de Bourgogne was a perfectly good medico and a distinguished epidemiologist to boot, who died in 1372, probably without ever having known that such a book as the *Travels* existed. A number of years later d'Outremeuse made his redaction, proclaimed that Jean de Bourgogne was the author, and even went to the extent of fabricating a tombstone with an epitaph to that effect, all of which has bedevilled Mandeville researchers ever since. Mrs. Bennett has performed the valuable service of discrediting d'Outremeuse completely and restoring Sir John Mandeville to his rightful position as a writer, a traveller, and an Englishman. She has further shown that the book was no mere plagiarism, but a great romance of mediaeval travel.

Mrs. Bennett's handling of an enormous mass of confusing detail is indeed masterly: one is reminded of Tony Sarg's manipulation of a dozen marionettes at once. In fact the book is a model of research; the organization throughout is superb, and the supplemental apparatus (including a complete catalogue of manuscripts and printed editions) is most thorough and of prime importance for the full comprehension of Mrs. Bennett's thesis. This reviewer is frank to admit that he was so entranced that he read the book through in one sitting: a statement that can be made about very few of the volumes reviewed in these pages. With Malcolm Letts's *Mandeville,* which is especially detailed regarding mediaeval geography, and with the same author's *Mandeville's Travels. Texts and Translations* (London, The Hakluyt Society, 1953, including the Egerton, Paris, and Bodleian texts—the last an Anglo-Latin translation from the Norman-French)—we are now finally able to appreciate a great English travel writer in his proper stature.

Boies Penrose

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